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Facing the Tide.



The Death of CICERO.

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THE
ROMAN HISTORY
FROM THE
FOUNDATION of ROME
TO THE
BATTLE of ACTIUM:

THAT IS,
To the End of the COMMONWEALTH.

VOL. XV.

By Mr C R E V I E R, Professor of Rhetorick in
the College of Beauvais, being the Continuation of
Mr R O L L I N's Work.

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M D C C L I V.

A LIST of the CONSULS NAMES, and
the YEĀRS comprehended in this VO-
LUME.

A. HIRTIUS.	A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.
C. VIBIUS PANSA.	
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS II.	A. R. 710. Ant. C. 42.
L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS.	
L. ANTONIUS.	A. R. 711. Ant. C. 41.
P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS II.	
C. DOMITIUS CALVINUS II.	A. R. 712. Ant. C. 40.
C. ASINIUS POLLIO.	
L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.	A. R. 713. Ant. C. 39.
C. CALVISIUS SABINUS.	
A. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.	A. R. 714. Ant. C. 38.
C. NORBANUS FLACCUS.	
M. AGRIPPA.	A. R. 715. Ant. C. 37.
L. CANIDIUS GALLUS.	
L. GEILIUS POPLICOLA.	A. R. 716. Ant. C. 36.
M. COCCEIUS NERVA.	
L. CORNIFICIUS.	A. R. 717. Ant. C. 35.
SEX. POMPEIUS.	
M. ANTONIUS II.	A. R. 718. Ant. C. 34.
L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.	
C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS II.	A. R. 719. Ant. C. 33.
L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS.	
Cn. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS.	A. R. 720.
C. SOSIUS.	Ant. C. 32.

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T H E R O M A N H I S T O R Y.



Continuation of the XLVIII. Book.

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A.R. 709.
Ant.C.43.

A. HIRTIUS.
C. VIBIUS PANSA.

The division of the
two Consuls, with
regard to
the fate of
the Republick.

THE Consuls entered on their charge, were both creatures of Cæsar. Pansa even owed his rise to him upon a particular account: For being the son of one who was banished, it would not have been possible for him to have arrived at these honours, if Cæsar had not removed the obstacle which the laws of Sylla laid in his way. It seemed as if they were attached not only to

the



the fortune, but the person of their friend ; for ^{A. R. 709.} they cherished his memory still after his death, ^{Ant. C. 43.} Cic. Phil. as Cicero ² observes particularly of Hirtius ; x. 16. and they were very zealous, especially the last, ^{Cic. Phil.} for the validity of the acts and decrees of the ^{xiii. 26.} Dictator. Thus the Senate, which Antony called justly enough the camp of Pompey, had sufficient motives for distrusting the Consuls.

They, on the other hand, pretended to be good and faithful citizens. They shewed themselves friends to peace, good order, and the laws, so far as to consent that the murder of Cæsar should remain unrevenged, rather than give occasion for a civil war. Especially as the indecent and tyrannical conduct of Antony, had made them revolt, and they were persuaded of the necessity of bringing him to reason, and of restraining his outrages. By this method they acted agreeably to the system of the Senate, the great object of which was the war against Antony, though they did not always proceed so fast as the Senate would have wished, and particularly Cicero, whose ardour would neither suffer obstacle nor delay.

On the 1st of January, the Senate being assembled, and the Consuls having proposed to deliberate on the situation of the Republick, Cicero advised them to act with all imaginable vigour. Fufius Calenus, who had been consul some years before, father-in-law to Pansa, giving his opinion first, had broached the advice of sending deputies from the Senate to Anthony. Cicero refuted him with surprizing vehemence, supporting his opinion with very weighty reasons. He observed, that it would

² Meus discipulus - - - - tus noster sauciavit. Cic. ad valde amat illum quem Bru- Att. xiv. 22.

A. R. 509 discover a visible want of resolution in the
 Aet. C. 53. conduct of the Senate, if, after having upon the 20th of December preceding, extolled those who had taken arms against Antony, they should in thirteen days time propose a negotiation with him. He thought they had reason to apprehend that by this weak conduct, they would intimidate the soldiers and people of Italy, who ardently espoused the publick cause. In short, he foretold that the deputation would be unsuccessful. "If you order, " says he to the senators, your deputies to be- "seech Antony, he will despise you. If, on the other hand, you pretend to give him orders, he will not hearken to you." Cicero concluded then, that the best way was to push the war with the utmost vigour, and for that end to give full power to the Consuls, strengthening them with the authority of the famous decree of the Senate, to which they had recourse upon the most pressing occasions; that is to say, by ordering them to take care that the Republick should suffer no harm. These two contrary opinions divided the Senate, and the debate lasted three days. At last Fufius gained his point, and the deputies were named, all persons of consular dignity; to wit, the famous Councillor Servius Sulpicius Piso, father-in-law to Cæsar, and Philip, husband to Attia mother of Octavius. But in the mean time it was resolved that they should continue briskly all the necessary preparations for war. And actually Hirtius, though not well recovered from a disease he had lately laboured under, set out a few days after at the

* Legatos decernitis: si si ut imperetis non audiet.
 ut deprecetur, contemnet; *Cic. Phil.* v. 25.

HIRTIUS and VIBIUS, Consuls.

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head of a body of troops to go and join young Cæsar, who had already commenced hostilities against Antony, and had taken from him his elephants and some cavalry. A. R. 709. Ant. C. 43.

Another thing deliberated upon by the Consuls in the Senate, the 1st of January, conformable to a decree of the 20th of December preceding, was, the rewards which were proper to be given to generals and soldiers, who had declared in favour of the Republick against Antony. This affair was very delicate, with regard to Octavius, whom the Senate neither cared to disoblige, nor to recompence; because, on the one hand they had need of him, and, on the other, it was dangerous to nourish his ambition and too elevated hopes. Cicero was quite determined in the affair, and advised them to invest him with the title of Pro-prætor, to make him a Senator, and to grant him the privilege of demanding offices several years before the age prescribed by the laws. All this passed, and, at the desire of Philip, the honour of a statue was added.

What was most singular in Cicero's harangue on this subject was, that he undertook to disipate the alarms, which were too well founded, of those who were apprehensive that the son of Cæsar would follow his father's footsteps. He extolled the attachment of Octavius to the Senate; he affirmed that Brutus and Cassius had nothing to fear from that quarter, and that he had sacrificed to the Republick all his particular resentments. He went even so far as to become surety for him to the Senate³. “ I promise, said he, I assure you,

3. Permitto, recipio, spon- lis hodie sit, qualemque eum deo, P. C. C. Cæsare in ta- maximè esse veile & optare lem semper fore civem qua- debemus. Cic. Phil. v. 51.

A. R. 759 "I engage to you, that Octavius will always
 A. C. 43. "act as a good citizen, as he does now, and
 "that he will follow the best maxims that we
 "could wish." But he promised a thing that
 no ways depended upon himself, and the event,
 as is well known, proved that he was too for-
 ward. He thought himself, however, obliged
 to speak after this manner, in order to esta-
 blish a confidence between the Senate and Octa-
 vius, which he imagined to be necessary for
 the good of affairs.

The Senate, at the same time that they heaped honours on young Cæsar, ratified their promises made to the troops, engaging to give them, after the victory, money, settlements, and exemption from military duty, both them and their children.

I make no mention of the encomiums and testimonies of approbation and esteem lavished upon Decimus; the thing speaks itself.

*A statue
 erected to
 Lepidus.* But the Senate laid hold of the opportunity of trying to fix the inconstancy of Lepidus, who had not yet declared himself. He was father-in-law to Brutus, which should have inclined him to the part of the Republick. On the other hand, his vanity, or foolish ambition, was but too capable to determine him, as it afterwards happened, to join with Antony in oppressing their liberty. They obliged him, therefore, by decreeing him the honour of a gilded statue, which was to be placed upon the Orat'rs Tribunal, or whatever part of the City he should make choice of. All this was done on a very extraordinary, and frivolous pretext, excepting only one article, which was really agreeable to the Senate, I mean the service which Lepidus had rendered to Sextus

Pompeius, in order to restore him to his rights. A. R. 709.
Ant. C. 43.

Though the partizans of Antony had procured a sixth decree of the Senate for a deputation, yet they were not capable to draw up the instructions with which the deputies were to be charged. They were very severe, and Cic. Phil. carried an injunction to Antony, to forbear ^{vi.} molesting Decimus Brutus, the Consul elect; to raise the siege of Modena; to make no devastation in the province; to retire on this side the Rubicon, provided he did not approach nearer Rome than 200 miles *; not to enlist any soldiers; and, in short, to refer his interest and pretensions to the determination of the Senate and People of Rome. Cicero, in giving an account of these instructions says, very justly, That they were not so properly propositions of peace, as express orders to a rebel. He foretold at the same time, in a very positive manner, that Antony would not obey them; and his prediction was verified to a tittle.

Ser. Sulpitius, the best of the three deputies Sulpitius,
one of the
deputies,
dies on his
arrival at
Antony's
camp., from the Senate, died upon arriving at Antony's camp. He was ill before his departure from Rome, and it was only out of pure complaisance to the Senate, of which he was one of the chief ornaments, that he accepted a commission which must endanger his life. Cic. Phil. ix.

Of the two remaining deputies, Piso and Philip, one was a friend to Antony, and the other a man of a soft character. By this means the deputa-
tion. they acquitted themselves of their charge like men who were not very zealous in the cause,

* More than 66 leagues.

A. R. 709. Aat. C. 43 contenting themselves with transmitting their orders in writing to Antony.

Cic. Phil. viii. 20 Antony had so little regard to this deputation, that he caused the walls of Modena to be immediately demolished, in presence of the deputies. He expressed himself very bitterly against Cicero, whom he alledged to be the author of the instructions, at which he was very much offended. He complained of the Senate, which used him ill in favour of her child (for so he called Octavius). He declared that Dec. Brutus should pay for all the rest of Caesar's murderers; so that the death of that great man might not remain unexpiated, at least by one victim. He did not allow the deputies to enter Modena according to their orders, to confer with Decimus. In fine, his answer was very haughty, and burthened with demands which he was well assured they would never grant. It was as follows, and began in

Cic. Phil. viii. a modest enough manner. "I renounce the government which was given me by the people; I lay down the command of the army; I by no means refuse to become private again; I forget every thing, and am reconciled with all the world." But he adds intolerable conditions: "I demand that you grant to my six legions, and to my cavalry, and troops of guards, all the spoil they have made, and the estates they are settled in; that those to whom I have given lands, in concert with Dolabella, may remain in possession of them; that whatever decrees my colleague and I have made with regard to ourselves, following the memoirs of Caesar for a pattern, shall remain in their full force; that no account of the money

“ money * which was in the temple of Ops, ^{A. R. 709.}
 “ shall be demanded of me; that a pardon ^{Ant. C. 43.}
 “ shall be granted to all who are with me, for
 “ whatever they may have done against the
 “ law.” In short, he did not propose to
 quit his pretensions to Decimus’s government
 without being very well recompensed for it.
 “ I give up, said he, the government of Cis-
 “ alpine Gaul; but I demand that of the
 “ Gauls lately conquered by Cæsar, together
 “ with six legions which shall be recruited out
 “ of the army of D. Brutus; and I shall en-
 “ joy this government as long as M. Brutus
 “ and C. Cassius shall keep the governments
 “ of provinces, whether during their Consul-
 “ ship, or in quality of Pro-consuls.” One
 may easily observe, that the future Consulship
 of Brutus and Cassius was a contrivance of
 Antony’s, to give jealousy to Octavius, and to
 make him sensible, that in case of necessity,
 he might be reconciled to him.

Piso and Philip were so little interested in *A tumultus* the cause with which they were charged, that ^{declared by} *the Senate.* they reported the answer of Antony to the Senate themselves, which might indeed pass for a declaration of war. Cicero put this interpretation upon it, and he proposed that a Roman, who in a Roman Colony besieged a Consul, appointed General of the Romans, should be declared an enemy to the publick. Antony had still friends enough in the Senate to ward off this blow. A *tumult* was declared, which was only a softer word substituted for that of war. As for the rest, all the orders

* This money amounted to where; that is, near five
 seven hundred thousand Sester- million and a half Sterling.
 tices, as has been said else-.

A. R. 709. were given, and they acted in every respect, as
 A. S. C. 45. in a real war, and even a dangerous one. They
 continued to raise both men and money. Arms of all kinds were prepared ; and all the
 citizens were ordered, instead of the Toga, to
 wear the military Garb, as in the time of the
 greatest danger. Every thing wore the appear-
 ance of war, though at the same time they
 Cic. Phil. would not admit the name. Cicero's zeal was
 xxxii. so ardent, that he would not make use of the
 privilege annexed to the consular dignity of
 wearing the robe of peace on such emergencies.
 He put on, with the other citizens, the war-
 like habit, to animate them by his example,
 to exclude all hope, and every proposition of
 peace.

*A statue
erected to
Sulpitius.*
 Cic. Phil. With the same design he supported strong-
 ly the proposal made by the Consul Pansa, to
 honour the memory of Ser. Sulpitius, who
 ix. had died in the character of Deputy from the
 Senate, and during the time that he was em-
 ployed in that office. Cicero judged, very
 justly, that the honours decreed to Sulpitius
 would be a stain upon Antony ; and that the
 same monument which preserved the remem-
 brance of the deputy of the Senate, would bring
 to mind the haughtiness with which Antony
 had rejected the deputation. He voted, there-
 fore, to erect a statue to Sulpitius, and his ad-
 vice was followed, as appears by the testimony
 Pomp. de of the lawyer Pomponius, who assures us that
 A. S. C. 45. this statue remained in his time.
 I. L. S.

A new de- Cicero, in the mean time, could not hinder
reconciler- them from renewing propositions for a recon-
dition. ciliation. Antony had always some friends at
the Senate. Rome. A little while before two Prætors, one
 of which was Ventidius, who rendered himself
 so

so famous afterwards ; one Tribune, and two ^{A. R. 709.} ^{Ant. C. 43.} designed Tribunes, had left the city to join Antony, or to be of service to him in other ^{Cic. Phil.} parts of Italy. Calenus, who remained at ^{xii.} Rome, was not less useful to him, and it was by their representations and those of Piso, that the Senate deliberated anew upon the means of terminating the quarrel, rather by treaty than by force of arms. Pansa supported them, and a new deputation was decreed, composed of persons of consular dignity ; in the number of which was Cicero himself. He durst not ^{Cicero,} at first venture to oppose it, but in the next assembly of the Senate he laid open, in an oration, which is his twelfth Philippic, the invincible reasons which obliged him to decline a commission of that nature. It is certain that Cicero's passion could by no means be agreeable to Antony ; and that it was only an illusion to think of negotiating a peace by means of his mediation. But further, he found fault with the resolution of the Senate, and undertook to prove that, considering Antony's character, his injustice, violence, tyrannical spirit, and the train of abandoned men he had about him, they could not hope to terminate the affair by an accommodation ; and that they must either overcome or perish. Cicero having thus excused himself from going, the other Deputies remained likewise at Rome, and the resolution of the Senate had no effect. A little time afterwards the Consul Pansa, having finished his business in the city, went to put himself at the head of the troops, levied by his orders, to make war against Antony, conjointly with his Colleague and young Cæsar.

Cicero

A. R. 709. Cicero had still another attack to encounter
Ant. C. 43. in the Senate, on account of a letter from Le-

Lepidus pidus, which exhorted them to peace. The
writes to representations of Lepidus made the stronger
the Senate impression, from his having the command of
so exhort a powerful army, and their having very good
them to peace. C: reason to distrust his attachment to the Repub-
ceros oppugnes lic. Fluctuating and irresolute as the Senate
it.

Dio. time was in a good understanding with An-
tony. He even sent him supplies, but with a

singular precaution, for he gave no orders to
the general officer who commanded them, nor
did he inform him which of the two parties
he was to join. This officer, whose name was
Silanus, put a proper construction on the in-
tention of the general, and marched his troops
into Antony's Camp. Whether it was that
this had not happened at the time that Lepi-
dus wrote to the Senate, or that Cicero chose
to connive at the dissimulation of that artful
man, he avoided, upon refuting him in his
thirteenth Philippic, to discover any discontent
against him ; nay, he even goes so far as to
praise him. But he persists firmly in his op-
inion of the impossibility of a peace. “ What

“ peace, says he, can you have with Antony ?
“ while there is no punishment inflicted upon
“ that wretch which can satisfy the just ven-
“ geance of the Romans.”

Antony's His zeal, which was always violent, was a-
letter to nimated by a letter of Antony's, in which he
Hirtius saw himself personally attacked, in two dif-
and Octa- fferent places. This letter, which was wrote
ius.

“ Cum hoc pax esse cræ posse populus Romanus. Cic.
potest: cuius ne suppl. Phil. xiii. 21.
q. dcm u. facias videtur

by

by Antony to Hirtius and Octavius, before ^{A. R. 709.}
Pansa was arrived at the camp, had been sent ^{Ant. C. 43.}
by Hirtius to Cicero. It is inserted at full
length in the xiiith Philippic: I shall here
translate the greatest part of it, because it is
the most considerable specimen remaining of
Antony's writings; and, besides, it is very art-
fully turned to sow divisions among the parti-
zans of Cæsar and Pompey, which were united
against him. * It begins thus: "The death
" of Trebonius, when I heard of it, gave me
" no less grief than joy. There is, doubtless,
" very good reason to rejoice, that that wretch
" hath satisfied, by his death, the manes of
" that great man, whose life he had conspired
" against; and that the providence of the
" gods has manifested itself before the end of
" the year, by the punishment which one of
" the parricides has already undergone, and
" which threatens another of them. But that
" Dolabella should have been declared an ene-
" my to the publick for having killed an af-
" sassine, and that the son of a buffoon ('tis
" Trebonius, whom he marks out by this scur-
" rilous epithet) should appear dearer to the

* Cognitâ morte Trebo-
nii, non plus gavisus sum,
quam dolui. Deditse pœnas
sceleratum cineri atque ossi-
bus clarissimi viri, & appa-
ruisse numen Deorum intra
finem anni vertentis, aut jam
soluto suppicio parricidii,
aut impendente, lætandum
est. Hostem judicatum hoc
tempore Dolabellam, eò
quod sicarium occiderit, &
videri cariorem populo Ro-
mano filium scurrae quam C.

Cæsarem, patriæ parentem,
ingemiscendum est. Acer-
bissimum verò est, te, A. Hir-
ti, ornatum beneficiis Cæsa-
ris, & talem ab eo relictum,
qualem ipse miraris, & te,
ô puer, qui omnia ejus no-
mini debes, id agere ut jure
damnatus sit Dolabella, ut
venefica hæc liberetur ab
obsidione, ut quam poten-
tissimus sit Cassius atque
Brutus.

" Romans

A. R. 709. " Romans than Cæsar, the father of his coun-
 Ant. C. 43. " try, is, indeed, a subject greatly to be la-
 " mented. But the most affecting circum-
 " stance is, that you, Hirtius, whom Cæsar
 " loaded with favours, and raised to a de-
 " gree of fortune, which is even surprizing
 " to yourself; and that you, likewise, young
 " Octavius, who owe every thing to his name,
 " that both of you should use your influence
 " to make the condemnation pronounced a-
 " gainst Dolabella appear lawful, and be put
 " in execution; and that that deceitful man
 " (meaning Decimus) whom I now keep shut
 " up in Modena, should be delivered from
 " the siege; and that Cassius and Brutus
 " should acquire a formidable power."

Antony proved what he advanced, by enumera-
 tating all the false measures which he al-
 ledged had been taken by Hirtius and Octa-
 vius, against the interest of their party. The
 first that he mentions is, their having made
 choice of Cicero ^a, one of the vanquished, for
 their Councillor and Chief; and he ends the
 whole detail of their conduct with this exclama-
 tion. " What could Pompey himself do
 " more, was he to return to life; or his son,
 " if he was at Rome?"

He adds: " You ^b tell me that I must not
 " hope for peace, if I do not suffer Decimus
 " to go out of Modena; or, if I do not fur-
 " nish him with provisions. Is this the re-
 " quest of those veterans whom you have pre-

^a Vitam Ciceronem du-
 cem habuistis.

^b Negatis pacem fieri pos-
 se, nisi aut emiseris Brutum,
 aut frumento juveris. Quid?

hoc placetne veteranis istis?
 quibus adhuc omnia integra

sunt: quoniam vos assenta-
 tionibus & venenatis mune-
 ribus venistis.

" vailed

“ vailed upon, and who, nevertheless, are still A. R. 709.
 “ undetermined? As for you, you have en- Ant. C. 43.
 “ tered into engagements; you have sold your-
 “ selves; and the flatteries you have listened
 “ to, together with the poisoned presents
 “ which you have received, leave you no lon-
 “ ger at liberty to draw back.

“ You tell me that there has been mention
 “ made in the Senate for peace, but I do not
 “ expect any reasonable, or moderate proposi-
 “ tions from that quarter. It ^a belongs more
 “ properly to you to consider which is the best
 “ plan, and the most useful step to be taken;
 “ whether to revenge the death of Trebonius,
 “ or that of Cæsar. Whether we ought to
 “ ruin one another in order to revive the cause
 “ of Pompey, which has been so many times
 “ traversed and subdued, or whether we ought
 “ not to unite ourselves, in order to prevent
 “ our becoming the sport of our common
 “ enemies, who will be equal gainers by the
 “ ruin of either your forces or mine. Hither-
 “ to fortune has spared herself this spectacle,
 “ and was not willing to see two members of
 “ the same body, or two armies of the same
 “ party, fight against each other, at the insti-
 “ gation of Cicero, who endeavours to set
 “ them together by the ears. Doubtless, he

• Vos potius animadver-
 tite utrum sit elegantius &
 partibus utilius, Trebonii
 mortem persequi, an Cæsa-
 ris; & utrum sit æquius,
 concurrere nos quo facili-
 Æs reviviscat Pompeianorum
 causa toties jugulata, an con-
 sentire, ne ludibrio simus ini-
 micis: quibus utri nostrum

ceciderint, lucro futurum.
 Quod spectaculum adhuc ip-
 sa Fortuna vitavit, ne vi-
 deret unius corporis duas a-
 cies, lanistâ Cicerone, dimi-
 cantes: qui usque eo felix
 est, ut iisdem ornamenti
 deceperit vos, quibus decep-
 tum Cæarem gloriatus est.

“ ought

A. R. 709. " ought to esteem himself very happy for having imposed upon you, by means of the same titles and honours by which he boasted to have imposed upon Cæsar."

Antony further positively assured them, that Lepidus and Plancus were both of his party, but in this he went too far, at least with regard to Plancus: However, it is scarce to be doubted but that he was on good terms with both of them

Mean while his final resolution was this: " If the gods, says he, favourable as I hope to the justness of my intentions, grant me happy success, life will be very pleasant and agreeable to me. If it happens otherwise, I enjoy, beforehand, with infinite satisfaction, the idea of the punishment which you must unavoidably meet with. For since the partizans of Pompey, though they are vanquished, carry their insolence so far, What will they do if they become conquerors? I shall leave you to make an experiment of this."

But not chusing to take leave of them in such harsh expressions, he adds an offer of a reconciliation: " Whatever injustice ^b (says he) my friends have done me, I can still forget what I have suffered by it, provided they can repent what they have done, and are ready to join with me in avenging the death of Cæsar."

* Si me rectis sensibus quales futuri sint, vos potem dii immortales, ut tius experiemini.
spero. adjuverint, vivam liberer. Sin autem aliud me fatum manet, præcipio gaudia suppliciorum vestrorum. Namque si victi Pompeiani tam insolentes sunt, victores

^b Denique summa judicij mei spectat hoc, ut meorum injurias ferre possim, si aut oblivisci velint ipsi fecisse, aut ulcisci parati sint unam nobiscum Cæsaris mortem.

This

This letter furnished those to whom it was directed with agreeable matter for reflection. It is uncertain what effect it produced on the mind of Hirtius, who died soon after. But as to Octavius, he made too good use of it, as will appear in the sequel.

In the mean time it produced no visible change in the conduct of the three Chiefs, who supported the cause of the Senate. It seems that Hirtius and Pansa thought it necessary to chastise Antony, in order to oblige him to respect the orders of the Senate and the Laws; and that Octavius did not think that he could securely treat with him till he had first revenged that contempt he had shewn towards him, and made him sensible that he was not a child, but a man, quite ripe with regard to prudence, and very firm in the execution of what he had resolved. The winter alone hindered them from acting. Octavius was with his army at the *Forum Cornelii*, which is now called *Imola*: Hirtius occupied * Claterna in the same province: And Pansa, who remained at Rome during some months at the beginning of the year, raised troops by force. As for Antony, he continued to block up Decimus in Modena. And in this manner was the bad season for fighting occupied.

As soon as it was possible to take the field, *Hirtius* Hirtius and Octavius knowing that the scarcity became very pressing in Modena, marched with a design to attempt the relieving it. Upon the march they took possession of Bologna, which opened its gates to them. But when they approached near the place besieged, they found themselves stopped by a little river

* *Quaderna.*

VOL. XV.

C

called Dio.

A. R. 709.
Ant. C. 43.

and Octavius approach to Modena.

Pigeons are made use of to carry and bring dispatches.

Appian.

A. R. 7th called * Scutenna, the banks of which Antony
Ant. C. 4th had lined with troops. It was not possible for
them to pass it: They only gave notice to De-
cimus of their arrival by signals, but as he re-
turned no answer, they made use of a diver,
Frontin. who swimming under water entered the town,
Strateg. and carried to the besieged the news of the
11. 1st & succours, graved on a thin plate of lead, which
14. they tied to his arm. They conveyed also Salt
Faz. x. 3rd. and other provisions into Modena, by the same
way of the river. The besiegers having observ-
ed it made use of nets to catch them, which
effectually hindered them from sending any
more. But they found no method of stopping
a particular kind of couriers, which kept up
a correspondence between the besieged and the
army destined for their relief. These were
Pigeons, to the necks of which they fastened
letters, and after having kept them shut up in
a dark-place without meat for some time, they
let them fly. As soon as they found them-
selves at liberty they directed their flight to-
wards a place where they observed grain,
which they had taken care to put upon the
high-ground; and thus they carried and
brought back several important advices.

Appian. There was nothing else remarkable happened
till the arrival of Pansa; excepting only that
the Praetor Ventidius, whose leaving Rome I
have before taken notice of, having advanced
to join Antony with two legions which he had
raised in Cæsar's colonies, was hindered by Hir-
tius and Octavius. He therefore retired to Pi-
cenum, where he raised a third legion, wait-
ing an opportunity of making use of his forces
for the service of his friend and protector.

* Le Panaro.

The

The fourteenth of April Pansa was to arrive at the camp of Hirtius, with four legions of new raised troops. At his approach both armies put themselves in motion. Hirtius detached the martial legion with his Guard or Praetorian Cohort, together with that of Octavius, in order to secure the march of his colleague. Antony, to prevent their joining, marched from the camp himself, leaving his brother Lucius to command there in his absence; and took two of the best Legions, two Praetorian Cohorts, his own and that of Silanus, which had been sent him by Lepidus, as I before observed, besides some cavalry and light-armed troops, and posted himself near the *Forum Gallorum*, now called *Cisal. Franco*.

As soon as the martial Legion, which had *A battle in which Pansa is wounded.* quitted the service of Antony to join young Cæsar, perceived the troops of the contrary party, it was not possible to keep them within bounds. Hatred is never stronger than against those whom you have left, and by whom you know you are looked upon as a rebel. Pansa was obliged to follow the motion of this Legion, and to engage in a general action, almost in spite of himself. I shall not offer to enter upon a detail of this engagement, which was very bloody. The Praetorian Cohort of Cæsar was almost entirely cut to pieces. The martial Legion suffered likewise very much; and Pansa received two wounds, the second of which was so considerable, that he was obliged to leave the field of battle, and was carried to Bologna. The loss was not much less on Antony's side; however, he had the advantage, for which he was particularly obliged to the cavalry, which was extremely good. But attempting

A. R. 719. Ant. C. 43. ing to cross the camp where the vanquished were retreated, he met with a repulse.

Antony in returning to his camp, is attacked, and defeated by Hirtius. When he was returning, Hirtius, who upon the news of what had passed, was arrived with two Legions, met him in the very place where the former battle was fought ; and falling on his troops, which were greatly fatigued, he easily defeated them. Thus the conquerors were either cut to pieces, or put to flight in their turn. Antony got back again to his camp, by the favour of the night, with the remains of his soldiers. Hirtius took two standards and sixty-six colours from the enemy.

Octavius, who was left to guard the camp, defeated Lucius the brother of Antony. In his absence, his camp was attacked by L. Antonius. Octavius who was left there with a handful of men, made nevertheless a good defence ; for having obliged the assailants to retire with loss, he by this means became a sharer in the glory of the day, which tho' not at all decisive, yet, however, did honour to the party of the Senate.

Scet. Aug. 10. Antony afterwards reproached Octavius that he had fled on this occasion, and did not appear again for two days after the battle, without his armour and his horse. But the testimony of an enemy is liable to exception. Octavius was praised in a letter of Hirtius, quoted by Cicero in full Senate, as having given proofs of great courage. The account which I have given of the affair, is a faithful translation of Cicero's words, in his xivth Philippic. But granting that account not to be literally just, yet I cannot persuade myself that it can be absolutely false.

The Senate exults pro- digiously the The advantage gained over Antony was extolled beyond all measure. Cicero voted to ordain festivals for fifty days to render thanks :

A very

A very great honour, and respecting the number of days, exceeded every thing which had passed before with regard to Pompey and Cæsar. He advised, besides, that they should invest each of the three Chiefs with the title of Imperator, as if it had been for a glorious victory and that a magnificent monument should be erected at the expence of the Republick, for all those who had been killed in the battle. This was a very judicious and laudable proposal, as it preserved to the fathers, mothers, wives, children, and brothers of the soldiers who were slain in defence of the publick Cause, those rewards which would have been given to themselves had they survived.

Meanwhile, for all this pomp of congratulation and triumph, Decimus was not delivered, and Antony still pressed the siege. Hirtius and Octavius were forced to give Antony battle again, where Antony's lines are forced. They had penetrated a good way when Hirtius was killed, fighting with great bravery. Octavius being left alone, gave evident proofs of his good conduct and courage. He kept possession of the enemy's camp for some time; but at last Antony, with redoubled effort, obliged them to retire. He made his retreat, however, in good order, and it is reported of him, that a standard-bearer having given him the standard when he was dying, he took it upon his shoulders, and with this honourable load, wounded and covered with blood, he returned glorious to his camp, having all the advantage on his side; Decimus shared the honour with him, by a fall which he made during the engagement. It is not at all to be doubted but Cle. ad Brut. I. 2. 4. Antony suffered greatly by this last action.

A. R. 7th This is confirmed by the resolution he took to
 Ant. C. 4th raise the siege, and gain the Alps as soon as
 A. R. 7th possible. But tho' he was overcome he had
 raise the
 友人 and
 朋友 left. He trusted much to
 A. R. 7th the friendship of Lepidus and Plancus, and he
 A. R. 7th was sure of three Legions which Ventidius
 commanded in Picenum. His next business
 then was to put himself in a condition of re-
 ceiving the succours of his friends, by means
 of which he hoped to become sooner more
 powerful and more formidable to his enemies
 than before.

C. Oct. 2nd He would have found it difficult, however,
 and 3rd to have received the advantage of these rein-
 forces, had Octavius pursued him without
 delay. This young, but artful politician, who
 was always steady in pursuing the interest of
 his ambition, purposely allowed his enemy
 time to retire. He was afraid of serving too
 well the party in which he was engaged, being
 persuaded, not without reason, that if he ruined
 Antony, the Senate would next endeavour
 to ruin himself.

The 1st This whole intrigue is very difficult to be
 2nd unravelled, for want of sufficient memoirs that
 3rd might be depended on. Two things, however,
 4th are very certain; the one, that the Senate de-
 5th sired earnestly to re-establish the government
 6th of the Republick; the other, that Octavius
 7th wanted entirely to destroy it, and raise to
 8th himself, on the ruins of Liberty, a power re-
 sembling that of his great uncle. By an inevi-
 9th table consequence of this contrariety of views,
 they mutually distrusted one another, and the
 necessity alone of subduing Antony their com-
 mon enemy, had re-united them. After An-
 tony was reduced to retreat from before Mo-
 dena,

dena, and was no more in a condition to give umbrage to any of them, the division, which was only suspended between the two parties, was ready to break out. The Senate, believing that they had no longer need of Octavius, neglected him, and strove to mortify him. And Octavius made use of this pretext to break his engagements with the Senate, and to execute without reserve that design which he had always kept in view.

This is in general the truth of the affair, which no dissimulation could render obscure, because it was sufficiently evinced by facts. But that which has very much darkened all the accounts of these times is, That both parties strove to conceal their measures; and as Octavius at last became the Chief, under the title of Augustus, and even transmitted his power to his successors; the historians under the first Cæsars, were permitted to give instances of the Senate's ingratitude, but by no means to expose Octavius. And how could it be expected that the common historians should dare to speak the truth, since T. Livius himself, whom Augustus called a partizan of Pompey, mentions, as a true motive, (if the author of the Abridgment understood his meaning) what was only a pretence. And supposes that the unjust proceedings of the Senate were the cause which determined Octavius to usurp the Consulship.

Tacitus, who was not only a man of an open character, but wrote in a time of liberty, under the government of one of the best Princes to be met with in history, has traced a faithful plan of the conduct of Octavius, which I have exactly copied. Suetonius also tells his mind very freely, but both of them

Tac. Ann.
iv. 34.
Epit.
cxix.

A. R. 79. express themselves only in general terms. Ap-
Aet. C. 43. pian and Dio, who entered more into particu-
lars, have extracted their histories from sources
infected with flattery ; and, consequently, ought
not to be rashly believed. Thus it frequently
happens that we find them contradicted by
the small authentic remains of the times we are
now speaking of. That is to say, some letters
of Cicero and his friends, especially the two
Bruti.

As I do not intend to load this work with
dissertations, which belong properly to the
learned, I shall not discuss those points which
I imagine have deceived these two Greek wri-
ters. I shall look upon what they have wrote
as partial to Octavius, compared with those
pieces which we have on the opposite side,
and thus I shall endeavour to unravel the truth
to my reader. But I return to my subject.

Decimus had no sooner got over his fear of
Antony, than he began to be afraid of Octa-
vius. To clear up his suspicions he desired a
conference with him ; and it appears, by the
manner in which he expresses himself in a letter
XI. ad to Cicero, that he believed he had good rea-
Fam. 13. son not to be displeased with it. But Octa-
vius, who was much more artful than he, de-
ceived him.

*Fr. statib
et Pca, 2.* In the mean time Pansa died in Bologna of
the wounds which he received at the battle of
Castel Franco. Finding there was no hopes of
recovery, he sent for Octavius, and, if you
believe Appian, revealed to him the plot
of the Senators, and their design to make the
Chiefs of Cæsar's party destroy each other.
He added, that his view, and that of his Col-
league in making war against Antony, was only
to

to humble him, in order to force him to a re- ^{A. R. 7^o9.} conciliation with the sons of his benefactor. ^{Ant. C. 43.} He ended, by informing him that he gave him up the two Legions, the Martial and the fourth, and that he would cause all the new raised troops to be sent to Decimus.

This last circumstance is very certain; and after the death of Pansa, these troops were distributed according to the plan abovementioned. As to the intentions of Pansa and Hirtius, they might possibly be such as Appian supposes them; but if it was so, it was surprising that Cicero had no suspicion of it, and in the letters which he wrote, both during their Consulship, and after their death, he frequently praises them, never in the least suspects their fidelity, and finds no fault with them on any other account, than want of activity and prudence on certain occasions. Besides, their whole conduct, after the death of Cæsar, shewed them to be men most certainly attached to his memory, but enemies to the violences and tyranny of Antony and his party. If they had any secret designs they can only be guessed at.

In short, in a time of factions and troubles, all sorts of rumours find credit with those whose prejudices are flattered. Thus, while Appian regards Hirtius and Pansa as devoted to Octavius, this last has been accused by others ^{Tac. Ann.} as the author of their death, as having occasioned Hirtius to be killed in the battle by ^{i. 10.} his own soldiers, and as having engaged Pansa's Physician to poison his wounds. These accusations have never been proved, and we have even a letter of Brutus's, in which he justifies Cic. ad ^{Suet. Aug.} Pansa's Physician. We only see by such extra- ^{Brut. i. 6.} ordinary

A. R. 709. ordinary reports, what some people believed a
Aet. C. 43. young ambitious man, such as Octavius, to be
capable of.

The fatal death of the two Consuls was a severe blow to the Republick, which found itself all at once deprived of its Chiefs. Their bodies were carried to Rome and magnificently interred, and their deaths greatly lamented by the publick. All orders of the State seemed to take a share in the concern; and it has been reported that the Cryers, who officiated at the funeral ceremony, refused their wages on this melancholy occasion. The grief, in the mean time, was greater and more sincere amongst the people, than amongst those at the head of affairs. Hirtius and Pansa had observed a mean between the two parties, which could neither be entirely satisfactory to the Senate or Octavius. Octavius had found them too much attached to the Senate, and the Senate too luke-warm in the cause of liberty. Cicero hints at this last in speaking of their death: “ We “ have lost two good Consuls, says he, but they “ were only good.”

*Antony is
declared
an enemy to
the publick.* The next thing that engaged the attention of those who were zealous for the Republick, was how to make the best use of Antony's disgrace, which, at first, they looked upon as quite complete. As soon as they heard the news that the siege of Modena was raised, they again put on the robe of peace in the city, as if the war had been entirely at an end, and ordained festivals for sixty days. Antony, and all those who had joined him were declared enemies to the publick, and it was resolved

Cic. ad Brut. i. 5. • Consules duos, horos nos, amisimus. *Cic. ad Brut.* quidem, sed dentax. t bo. i. 5.

that

that they should pursue them briskly till they A. R. 709:
Ant. C. 43. had compleated their ruin.

In the mean time they appointed a commis- Appian. sion to inspect into the whole conduct of An-
tony during his Consulship, and to repair all
the injustice for which he was blamed, both
towards the Republick and particular persons.
The end which they proposed by annulling
his orders was, that this counter-blow must
weaken Cæsar's Decrees, by which he thought
himself authorized in all he had done.

At such a critical conjuncture, while nobody The gene-
durſt call himself a friend to Antony, and those *rosy of*
Atticus. who had been the most obliged to him aban-
doned him and joined his enemies.; Atticus, Corn. Ne-
pos in Vit. in spite of his intimate connections with Cicero Att. and Brutus, shewed himself a faithful friend to
him in disgrace. He protected Fulvia his wife,
who was attacked on all sides by creditors, and
persecuted with a thousand injuries in order to
rob her of all she had. He secured his children,
who were in danger of their lives. And it can-
not be said, as Corn. Nepos very well ob-
serves, That in all this he acted with the least
selfish view. For at that time there was no
manner of appearance that Antony could ever
recover himself, every body believing that he
was irrecoverably ruined.

The rigid Republicans, who followed to a The Senate
tittle the maxims and suggestions of Brutus, endeavours
to pull
down Oc-
tavius. were no less active to depress young Cæsar,
than to ruin Antony. As they had the upper Cic. ad
Fam. xi. hand at that time in the Senate, all the honours & ad Brut.
were granted to Decimus. He was charged Appian.
with the pursuit of Antony, and the battle of Modena, by which he was delivered, happen- Dio.
was
ing accidentally to fall on his birth-day, it

A. R. 709. was ordered that that day should be marked
 Ant. C. 43. with his name in the publick *Fasti*: In fine,
 Cic. ad under pretence of some advantages gained by
 Fam. xi. him, several months before, over the nations
 4. of the Alps, they decreed him a triumph. On
 the contrary Cicero, who kept more within
 bounds, having proposed to grant Octavius
 the honour of an Ovation, had almost the
 whole Senate against him. And what shewed
 very plainly their design of weakening young
 Cæsar, was their attempt to take away from
 him the Martial and fourth Legions, and put
 them under the command of Decimus. But
 the Senators succeeded no farther in this, than
 only to discover their ill will towards him.
 The Legions were too well pleased with the
 general they had made choice of, to be pre-
 vailed upon to leave him. But the Senate did
 not content themselves with that; they even
 carried the affair so far as to affront Octavius.

Their next busines was, to bestow on the
 victorious Legions those rewards they had pro-
 mised at the beginning of the war. This was
 looked upon as an affair of so great conse-
 quence, that in order to raise money, they
 Cic. ad loaded with a tax the city of Rome itself,
 Fam. xii. which had been exempted from it ever since
 3c. & ad the triumph of Paulus Emilius, conqueror of
 Bant. i. 18. Persia, and which submitted with great reluc-
 Plut. A. mil. tance to a burden it had not felt for the space
 Cic. de of 120 years before. They named six Com-
 Off. ii. 76. missioners to distribute these rewards; and one
 would think that it was very natural to have
 put the officers of those troops in the number.
 But so far from this, it was said that those
 who were at the head of the army could not
 be named for this office. They chose rather

to exclude Decimus than to be under a necessity of admitting Octavius.

A. R. 709.
Ant. C. 43.

This resolution was also taken contrary to the advice of Cicero, who was one of the commissioners. He insisted in favour of the two generals, but was not hearkened to. His prudence was looked on as a selfish piece of policy, and brought upon him afterwards very smart reproaches from Brutus. On the other hand he was, at the same time, exposed to the ill-will of the veterans, who looked upon him as favouring the murderers of Cæsar.

The veterans were in the right ; and he happened to drop an expression at this time, which *cal expression of Cicero, with regard to* perhaps cost him his life. In speaking of Octavius he said, that he could not help praising and honouring the young man : he adds a *young Cæsar*, third phrase which in the Latin bears an *equi-sar*. vocal sense, and may equally signify *to elevate, or rid himself of him*. This expression came to the ears of Octavius, who said he would take care not to be elevated in the manner Cicero intended he should.

In short he actually prepared to lay aside *The opposite projects and interests of Octavius and the Senate*, the mask, and break off with the Senate. It may indeed be said that he was in a manner forced to it, as it manifestly appeared that they proposed to crush Cæsar's party, and to make the enemies of his name and memory triumph. The general command at sea given to Sextus Pompeius ; the formidable power which Brutus and Cassius authorized by the decrees of

* *Ipsum Cæsarem nihil tem, ornandum, tollendum ; sanè de te questum, nisi se non commissurum ut tolli diculum quod diceret te dixisse, laudandum adolescen- possit. D. Brut. ad Cic. xi. ad Fam. 20.*

A. R. 709. the Senate had acquired ; the honours accumulated upon Decimus ; the indifference which they shewed for Octavius, after Antony was no longer to be feared ; all this prognosticated to Cæsar's heir, not only obstacles, with regard to his ambitious projects, but even dangers fatal to his person. He had then good reason to distrust the Senators, and the Senators had reason to distrust him. Their reciprocal interests were directly contrary ; and as it is interest which governs men, especially those who have the management of great affairs, the enmity between them became irreconcileable. It was necessary that either the Senate should be crushed to pieces, or else that the ambitious Octavius should perish.

Suet. Aug. 10. This he had foreseen from the very beginning. For by his plan the authority of the Senate must be destroyed. And he owned this in some measure himself, seeing he made a glory of it, through his whole life, that he had always had in view the revenging the death of his adoptive father, which could not be executed while the Senate preserved any authority. He dissembled at first, that he might not have both the Senate and Antony to struggle with at the same time. He even pushed his dissimulation so far, as to agree to release one of Cæsar's murderers, and acted his part so well in this war, that Cicero testifies in his Brut. I. 10. behalf, that there was no fault to be found with the manner in which he served his party.

After Antony's defeat he suspended his activity at once ; he took no advantage of the victory, and this was the first symptom he gave of his secret intentions. But this was still equivocal, since the Senate charged Decimus, and

and not Octavius to pursue Antony. As for the rest he kept himself quiet, and had patience for some time; being willing without doubt to obtain some specious pretence against the Senate, which shewed now no more respect for him, and to seem to have been abandoned and offended by the Senators, before he should abandon them, and declare himself their enemy.

He was not long in finding the pretence which he wanted, and the Senators took care to furnish him with it. Being still fond of the project of drawing from him the troops which acknowledged him for their chief, they ordered the Deputies which they sent to the army to distribute the rewards, to speak to the soldiers when Octavius was not present. After Vell. ii. the Deputies arrived, and had signified their orders to the young general, he declared that he would not in the least hinder them from doing what was enjoined them; but he signified to them, at the same time, that they would find it a needless trouble, and that he was very sure that the soldiers would neither hearken to them nor give them any answer unless he was present. In this he advanced nothing but the truth, and doubtless he had taken his measures before. The Deputies being returned, without having performed any thing, Octavius embraced this opportunity of laying open to his troops the whole management of the Senate, and a design which was formed of sowing a dissention between the soldiers and their general. His discourse was received with great applause, and the attempt which had been made to deprive him of his army, confirmed the affections of his troops towards him.

A. R. 709.
Ant. C. 43.

The Senate gives Octavius a pretext, which he makes use of to declare himself.

62.

Dio.

A. R. 709. In the mean time he made preparations to
 Ant. C. 43. approach towards Antony, but did not enter
Octavius directly into a negotiation with him. He be-
approaches gan to caress very much the prisoners, both
towards officers and soldiers, which he had in his power,
Antony. receiving into his army all such as were willing
 Appian. to engage with him, and allowing to the rest
 the liberty of returning to their general. Ven-
 tidius had marched out of Picenum, in or-
 der to join Antony; and nothing could have
 been more easy than for Octavius to have cut
 them to pieces in their march. But instead of
 that, when he knew that they were near his
 camp, he sent to invite them to join his party;
 or, if Ventidius rather chose it, he would al-
 low him to continue his march unmolested to-
 wards Antony, and he charged him to reproach
 him with his ignorance of their mutual interest.
 Ventidius made a proper use of this permission,
 and was not wanting to acquit himself faith-
 fully of his message. This conduct of Octa-
 vius sufficiently declared his intentions. For
 an officer, one of the prisoners, called Decius,
 taking leave of him to return to Antony, and
 demanding of him an explanation of his senti-
 ments: “I have done enough, answered Oc-
 tavius, for intelligent men. To such as are
 “weak and blind, nothing is sufficient.”

He invites He further explained himself in letters to Le-
Lepidus and Pollio, with whom he had no dif-
and Pollio ference, and who, till that time, appeared to
to join with remain neuter. He represented to them, “That
 “all the chiefs of Cæsar’s party ought to unite
 “together in order to check the power of his
 “father’s murderers, and also for their own
 “safety. That without this it was greatly to be
 “feared, that they should all be ruined, one after
 “another,

“ as had just happened to Antony, by an effect of his too great boldness, presumption, and obstinacy. That it was right to keep in with the Senate, and to acknowledge its authority, without neglecting themselves in the mean time, and taking proper precautions against the dangers which threatened them.” Octavius concluded, with desiring them to communicate these reflections to Antony, and to engage him to give attention to them.

A. R. 709.
Ant. C. 43.

Lepidus was very strongly inclined to conform his conduct to the advice of Octavius. But as to Pollio, if we may judge of his dispositions by the three letters which we have of his upon the motion above-mentioned, and even by the fierceness of his character, a republican in his heart, and full of esteem for Cicero ; though he preserved some respect for the memory of Cæsar, he shewed himself fully determined to assist the Senate against Antony. But his being removed to the furthest corner of Spain, did not allow him to have any share in the decision of that affair, or to have it in his power to wait for it.

Octavius, besides his general views which *He aspires* regarded the whole party, had at that time a ^{to the Consulship.} particular one with regard to himself ; this was to arrive at the Consulship, void by the death of Hirtius and Pansa. This supreme dignity was very capable of tempting an ambitious young man. Besides, he judged it a kind of protection absolutely necessary for him in his present situation. He saw himself as it were standing alone, an enemy of Antony, not well assured of the dispositions of the other chiefs of Cæsar's party, and obnoxious to the Senate. The

Plut. Cic.
Appian.
Dio.

A. R. 709. Consulship, if he could obtain it, would certainly fortify him, and add to his arms the support of the Laws, and of the publick Authority. But the difficulty was, how to succeed. He first addressed himself to Cicero, who allowed himself to be persuaded to assist him, in a demand so contrary to the rules and interest of the republican party.

Cicero becomes his dupe, and supports him.

Cic. ad
Brut. i.
15.

This is the part of Cicero's life which gives the greatest handle for censure. It must be owned, that he had a violent inclination towards Octavius, who had insinuated himself into his good graces by the most flattering caresses, and who feigned to put his confidence entirely in him, and to make him his only counsellor. I am of opinion, however, that whatever Cicero did before that in favour of Cæsar's heir might be justified, and that the reasons he makes use of to defend himself against the reproaches of Brutus on this subject, have a great deal of weight.

Necessity had forced him to throw himself into the arms of Octavius, in the urgent danger which threatened the City and the Republick when Antony marched his Legions from Brundisium to Rome. Young Cæsar was then plainly the deliverer of the Senate ; and upon this occasion the whole Senators agreed with Cicero, to load him with honours of all kinds.

“ But * I do not know how it happens, says Cicero to Brutus, that we are more ready to grant liberally in the moment of danger, than to make any acknowledgment when it is over.” After raising the siege of Modena, the Senate changed its conduct en-

* Sed nescio quomodo facilius in timore benigni, quam in victoria grati repe-

tirely.

tirely with regard to Octavius. But Cicero did not vary from the system he had embraced. He proposed that they should decree to the conqueror the little Triumph, and alledged that that advice was no less prudent, than conformable to the laws of gratitude. He did not explain himself any further. But independent of other reasons which he might possibly have had, it is certain that if the Senate had been complaisant enough to Octavius, to grant him an honour, of no great consequence, he would have thought himself more obliged to have declined making an irregular and dangerous demand of the Consulship.

It was upon occasion of this demand that Cicero allowed himself to be made a tool of ; and, which made it the more inexcusable, thro' ambition and vanity. The young and artful Octavius proposed to him that they should demand the Consulship together, giving him to understand, that he himself would be contented with the simple title and honour, leaving the power entirely to Cicero. He added, that if he desired that high office, it was only to have an opportunity of laying down his arms honourably, as he had demanded a triumph from the same motive. It is difficult to comprehend how Cicero should be deceived by such a palpable piece of artifice, if it was not that the predominant passion frequently blinds men of the most penetrating genius. Plutarch agrees with Appian in this affair, and it is certain that it was currently reported at that time, that Cicero was to be made Consul, for Brutus in a letter ^{Brut. ad} compliments him upon it. This old and wise statesman, imposed on by a young man not yet twenty, made the whole Senate witness

A. R. 709. nesses of the trick which was put upon him.

Aet. C. 45. He represented, “ That the Republick could
 “ scarce put confidence in any of the generals
 “ which commanded the armies in the neigh-
 “ bourhood of Italy, and who acted like in-
 “ dependents, making treaties among them-
 “ selves for their proper interests, without any
 “ regard to the service of the State. Conse-
 “ quently it behoved the Senate to attach itself
 “ to Octavius, whom hitherto it had regard-
 “ ed but very little ; and that it was neces-
 “ sary to regain him by means of some ho-
 “ nours, lest being irritated and in arms it
 “ might be more difficult to restrain him within
 “ proper bounds, than if he was in the city
 “ and vested with the Consulship. That after
 “ all they could appoint a kind of manager and
 “ tutor for him, under the name of colleague,
 “ and make choice of one of the old Senators

The Senate “ to direct his counsels.” This discourse did
reject the not impose upon any. The friends of Brutus
demand of presently discovered in it Cicero’s weakness,
Octavius. and made a jest of it. They had no mind to
 consent to the preferment of Cæsar’s son, and
 to put it in his power to revenge the death of
 his father.

This artifice of Octavius had not its intended effect ; and as he was not powerful enough to subdue the Senate himself, it is very probable that he would not have succeeded in usurping the Consulship, if the junction of Lepidus and Antony had not caused new alarms to the Republick, and quite discouraged it.

The junc- The Senate at the beginning of the troubles
tion of Le- had ordered Lepidus and Plancus to come from
pidus and Gaul with their armies to the assistance of the
Antony. Republick. If these two generals had faith-
Cic. 2d fully
Fam. x. 33.

fully and punctually obeyed this order, Antony ^{A. R. 709.} must have been infallibly ruined. But, in the ^{Ant. C. 43.} Plancus ad first place, they were quarrelling with each ^{Cic. L. x.} other, and consequently little disposed to act ^{ad Fam.} in conjunction ; and it was with some difficulty that Juventius Laterensis, Lepidus's lieutenant, a very zealous citizen for the cause of liberty, prevailed at last in part to remove this obstacle, by negotiating between them a seeming reconciliation. In the second place, their politicks made them both wait the success, before they would determine ; with this difference, that Lepidus favoured Antony's party, while Plancus, on the other hand, inclined more towards the Senate. From all this there resulted an indolent conduct, and affected delays which prolonged the affair so much, that the quarrel was terminated in Italy by the raising the siege of Modena, and by the flight of Antony, without their having in the least contributed to it, during the time that they were still in Gaul. This event put an end to Plancus's equivocations, and obliged him to engage heartily against the unfortunate Antony. In the letters which he wrote after that time to Cicero, he speaks in the same style concerning the Republick, as Cicero himself ; he does not spare to give Antony and his party the most odious epithets ; and he passed the Iser to join Lepidus, who was encamped at the *Pons Argentorum*, upon a river of the same name, on this side the town called *Forum Voconii*. But when he came near it, he understood that Lepidus had received Antony into his camp. In this manner was that affair conducted.

Octavius, as I have said, did not pursue Antony, who had gained two days march upon

A. R. 49. Decimus, for he marching in a regular manner, could not make such quick progress as flying troops, whose only care it is to escape the enemy. It is incredible what Antony suffered in this flight. There was a prodigious famine in his army, especially at the passage of the Alps; even so great as to make them endeavour to convert into nourishment the barks of trees, and to eat animals for which nature has the greatest abhorrence. The soldiers nevertheless suffered this great calamity with courage, because their general himself set them an example; and they saw that man, who was accustomed to a luxurious diet, and the most delicious wines, drink very chearfully of muddy stinking water, and eat wild fruits and roots. For Antony ¹ became superior to himself in adversity; and when he was mortified with disgrace, he resembled in all respects a man of virtue, which is no mean encomium. In short, as Plutarch observes, it is common for those who are ill used by fortune, to acknowledge their faults, and pay respect to virtue. But all have not resolution to practise what they approve, and to shun what they condemn. On the contrary, your weak and effeminate characters, when they are crushed by adversity, only return more easily to their former habits afterwards. Upon other occasions Antony return'd to his natural inclinations; and when in his mirth he met with plenty he gave himself up to his usual intemperance. This gave occasion

* Φέστη σταχτή τε; κακο- πάλιων αὐτοῦ λέστεροι μητροῖς κα- περαῖς οὐδὲ βλαστοῖς ιαυτά, φεύγεις αὐτοῦ δυσχεράντεις οὕτως, καθαρούγατη μητροῖς οὐδὲ βλαστοῖς οὕτως, μέντοι ταῖς μελαβόλαις ἀλλα- καταβολαῖς τε τὰς μελαβόλας οὐδὲ μάλλον ἐπίστροφος τοῖς οὐθεσιοῖς οὐ- δεῖσθαι οὐπέ αθηναῖς, καὶ θραυ- στοις οὐδελέμενοι εἰ μέντοι. Pluti- to

to a witty saying of one of his friends, who being asked what Antony was doing : “ He ^{A. R. 709.} _{Ant. C. 43.} Macrob. does, answer’d his friend, like the dogs along Sat. ii. 2. the Nile, he flies and drinks.” For, according to an antient tradition, the dogs, on the banks of that river, for fear of the crocodiles drink as they run. But whenever the want of provisions came, Antony suffered it with an heroick resolution. This made his troops, which otherwise, very probably, would have abandoned him, adhere firmly to him, and put him in a condition to reap the advantage of the favour which Lepidus privately intended.

That vain and deceitful man pushed his dissimulations, or perhaps his want of resolution, as far as possible. He wrote to Rome, promising ^{Cic. ad} an inviolable attachment to the Senate, and sent ^{Fam. x. 34.} letters and couriers to Plancus to hasten his arrival, while he in the mean time, gave orders to Culeo, one of his lieutenants, to guard the passes of the Alps ; but instead of defending them, he opened them all. Thus Antony marched down without any molestation, and encamped near Frejus, with a considerable army, Ventidius having joined him with three legions.

Antony finding himself near Lepidus, did ^{Plut. Ant.} not fortify his camp with any lines or intrenchments, chusing to have it known that he believed himself among his friends. And he was not deceived ; for the whole army of Lepidus, composed chiefly of old troops, that had served under Cæsar, was inclined towards Antony ; and tho’ Lepidus continued to act the farce, and refused to see a General declared a publick enemy by the senate ; yet Antony had frequent

A. R. 709. quent interviews with the soldiers, advancing
 Ant. C. 43. as far as the borders of their lines, with an air
 of affliction, in a mourning habit, and acting
 the suppliant, conjuring them to undertake
 his defence against his enemies. The end of
 all this contrivance was, that one morning the
 troops of Lepidus, having destroyed the forti-
 fications on one side of the camp, and thrown
 the earth of the parapet into the ditch, received
 Antony, conducting him to the General's tent,
 who was then in bed. They all pretended that
 they desired to engage in the cause of their
 friends who served under Antony, and were in-
 volved in the same condemnation with them.
 Lepidus, seeing things carried so far, thought
 he had a sufficient excuse for taking a step
 which he seemed absolutely forced to, and
 consented to assist Antony with all his forces.

Cic. ad Fam. x. 55. To this purpose he wrote to the Senate, and
 observed in his letter what we have just men-
 tioned. that a sedition of his soldiers had obli-
 ged him to undertake the defence of so great

Cic. ad Brut. 1. 15. a number of unfortunate Citizens. The Senate
 did not suffer itself to be deceived by this frivo-
 lous excuse; on the contrary declared him an
 enemy to the Publick, and pulled down the
 statue they had decreed to him, which had
 been erected but a few months before. Cicero,

Cic. ad Fam. x. & xii. & ad Brut. same of the conduct of Lepidus, and thought
 that his joining with Antony was owing to
 treachery, and not at all to weakness and ti-
 midity. In eff. et, Antony did not treat him
 like a General deprived of his power, to whom
 he granted the title and honours of command.

Cic. ad Fam. x. We shall see them act afterwards like friends
 and equals, sharing together the fruit of the
 crimes

crimes they are going to commit. This Junc- A. R. 709.
Ant. C. 43.
tion was made the 29th of May.

Juventius Laterensis, who alone in this Vell. ii.
whole affair acted with sincerity, ashamed of 63.
having been made the dupe of Lepidus, and
despairing of the Republick, killed himself as
soon as Antony entered the camp. Plancus
speedily repassed the Iser, and received Deci-
mus, who arrived soon after in Gaul with his
army. Thus supported, he continued firm for
about two months, with the party he had em-
braced ; and, if we believe Cicero's letters, his
zeal went so far as to press Octavius to come
and finish the ruin of the enemies of the Re-
publick, by joining with himself and Decimus.
He was quite ready to act, provided he had
nothing to risk. But Octavius, at that time,
thought of nothing less than of making war
against Antony. All his views tended to take
advantage of the consternation, or the renewal
of the troubles and dangers of the Senate, to
force them to consent to his being named Con-
sul, in order to release him from his engage-
ment.

He could not have wished for a more fa- The Senate
vourable opportunity. The consternation of *has recoufe*
the Senate was proportioned to the greatness to Octa-
of the danger, and there was no resource at vius.
hand. They wrote to Brutus and Cassius to Appian.
Dio. press them to come to the assistance of their
country ; but they were at too great a distance.
Sextus Pompeius had but a handful of men,
and those troops which they might expect from
Africa and Sardinia, were not sufficient to sup-
port their spirits. There was then a necessity
for having recourse to Octavius, whom they
had but just before despised and affronted. The
Senate,

A. R. 709. Senate, who since the raising of the siege of
 Ant. C. 43. Modena had never employed him, and even
 attempted to take his legions from him, or-
 dered him to make war in conjunction with
 Decimus against Antony and Lepidus.

Was taken Octavius, far from being disposed to declare
that of war himself an enemy to these two Generals, ac-
tunity to a- tually negotiated with them. Wherefore he not
surp the con- only refused as a favour the commission which
sualeip. was given him, but he drew from it a pretence
 to irritate the soldiers against the Senate. He
 made them understand that the Senate, always
 devoted to the memory and cause of Pompey,
 had no other design than to make those who
 were attached to Cæsar, destroy each other ;
 and that the fruit of so many wars, in which
 they were successively engaged, would be the
 triumph of Pompey's party, which had so
 often been vanquished. That besides, it was
 very strange, that they should send them out
 upon a new expedition, without paying them
 the rewards promised for the first, which they
 had so happily terminated. He added, in or-
 der to affect them by the most powerful mo-
 tive, that the veteran soldiers could no longer
 depend on the peaceable and certain possession
 of those estates which Cæsar had granted them.
 That this possession was founded on Cæsar's
 acts, against the validity of which the Senate
 had just manifested its displeasure, by order-
 ing an enquiry to be made into all that Antony
 had done during his consulship, which was au-
 thorized by the same acts. In fine, he mixed
 some reflections on the danger he was in him-
 self, which he protested gave him less concern,
 than their proper interest. The only remedy,
 in his opinion, for so many disappointments
 was,

was, to make him be declared Consul; and he ^{A. R. 709.} promised, that if he arrived at that office, he would take the most effectual measures in order that the soldiers might enjoy the just recompences of their services, and to revenge the death of his father.

This speech was received with very great applause, and in consequence of it the soldiers engaged themselves by oath to one another, not to fight against any of those who had served under Cæsar. This was plainly refusing to make war against Lepidus and Antony, whose armies were chiefly composed of those soldiers. They further voted a deputation of four hundred of them to the Senate to demand the payment of the 5,000 denarii which had been promised them, and the promotion of their General to the Consulship.

It was doubtless about this time that Cicero, who saw the tendency of all these motions, and who thought himself always sure of the friendship of Octavius, wrote to him in favour of Brutus and Cassius, for whom, properly speaking, he demanded a pardon, which occasioned a very sharp reprimand from Brutus to his too humble intercessor; but I defer mentioning it here, that I may not interrupt the thread of my narration.

The Senate consented to give satisfaction to the army with regard to the money: but they would not hear them speak of the Consulship for Octavius, insisting particularly on his youth. The soldiers, however, who had been well instructed before, quoted examples to support their demand, viz. that of Valerius Corvus, the first Scipio, and also that of Pompey, which was still recent. They further alleged the pri-

A. R. 709. vilege which the Senate had granted Octavius,
 Ant. C. 45. of putting up for offices ten years before the
 age prescribed by the laws; representing that
 he wanted only a step to arrive at the point
 which he then pretended to. Thus one infrac-
 tion of rules or statutes becomes a handle for
 demanding a second. The Senate however,
 which had several other reasons for refusing
 Octavius the Consulship, besides that of his
 Suet. Aug. youth, kept firm to their refusal. Then Cor-
 nelius the Centurion, chief of the Deputation,
 went out from amongst the Deputies, and lay-
 ing his hand on his sword, he turned towards
 the Senators, and said to them, * “ If you will
 “ not give the Consulship to my General, I
 “ will give it him myself.” Upon which Ci-
 cero answer’d pleasantly, “ If you demand the
 “ Consulship in this manner for Octavius, you
 “ will certainly obtain it.”

This was the intention of the young Gene-
 ral, who seeing the soldiers irritated at the Se-
 nate’s refusal, took care to nourish and foment
 their passion, and make them press him to
 usurp by force what the Senate had before re-
 fused. Thus yielding to so grateful a violence,
 he passed the Rubicon, a name fatal in the ci-
 vil wars of the Cæsars, and with eight legions
 he marched against Rome. At this news the
 Senate was quite disconcerted. I have observed
 elsewhere, that firmness in a society is not to be
 expected when the danger is very pressing, of
 which the pusillanimous conduct of the Senate
 on this occasion is an evident proof. The first

* I have quoted from Plu- Perhaps the historians have
 tarcb a similar passage on the confounded the two Cæsars:
 subject of Caesar’s second Con- and perhaps the same thing
 fugal (Tom. 13. Pag. 551.) may have happened twice.

motion

motion that was made, was to grant every thing both to the soldiers and the general. A. R. 709.
Ant. C. 43.
They gave orders to distribute the 5,000 denarii a piece, promised long ago to the troops, and Octavius had the whole charge of this commission. To him they likewise promised the Consulship. But scarce were the deputies gone to carry him this decree, when the Senators began to reproach themselves with their timidity, and two legions being arrived from Africa at that time, as if by appointment, they took courage, imagining that with these two legions, and a third which Pansa had left to guard the city, they should be able to defend themselves against the approaching army. They station'd troops upon the *Mons Janicularius*, where the publick money was deposited; and fortified the bridge which forms a communication between the Janiculum and the City. It had been greatly to be wished that they could have secured the mother and sister of Octavius; because that with such hostages they could have obtained every thing from that young general. But their friends concealed them so faithfully, that it was not possible to discover their place of refuge.

But all this haughtiness and boldnes of the Senators came to nothing at the arrival of Octavius. He had taken the wise precaution, to send proper persons before to declare that they had nothing to fear from him, for he would commit no hostility in the city. By means of this promise the people remained quiet; and even the Senate's three legions, who were but coldly attached to the cause, and who probably meditated at that time the change of party which they soon after executed, did not

A. R. 709. so much as draw a sword ; so that Octavius being encamped at the foot of the Quirinal, was heartily congratulated. Every body flocked to him, not only the lower people, but even a great many of the first rank in the Senate. Next morning he entered Rome with a sufficient guard, and was received amidst the acclamations of the people. His first care was to go to the temple of Vesta, where he knew his mother and sister were. Then the three legions ranked themselves under his command, and the Senate, destitute of all resource, submitted to him ; Cornatus the Praetor only killing himself in despair. The rest went and made their submissions to him whom fortune had rendered their master. Even Cicero himself submitted to this hard and mortifying task, which drew on him a sharp rebuke from Octavius, as being the last of his friends who came to congratulate him.

It was with extreme reluctance that the Senate submitted to this young and aspiring man. But what cannot be excused in so wise a society is, that upon a false report, without the least foundation, they suddenly changed their conduct, and foolishly attempted to shake off a yoke, which by this means was only rendered the heavier. Some person, it seems, told the chiefs of the Senate, that the two legions which I have frequently mention'd, the Martial and the fourth, and were excellent troops, had left Octavius, and declared themselves for the cause of liberty. This news spread itself in an instant ; the Senators assembled in the night ; and Cicero being one of the first who came to the gate of the Senate-house, encouraged all who came in, zealously to defend the Republic.

lick. They dispatch'd immediately Aquilius Crassus to Picenum, in order to raise troops. After all this they examined the source of the report on which their hopes were founded, and as they could not discover any certain author, they became more terrified than ever, and presently dispersed themselves. Cicero fled out of the city in his litter, and Octavius had reason to ridicule an attempt so ill concerted. As to him, he observed always the same apparent mildness in his proceedings ; and Aquilius Crassus, who was taken prisoner disguised like a slave, being brought before him, he immediately pardoned him, knowing very well that he should have opportunity enough afterwards to revenge himself.

Thus having become absolute master of Rome, he took possession of all the publick money, which was deposited in the Janiculum and elsewhere, and distributed to each of the soldiers two thousand five hundred denarii, promising them very soon a like sum which remained due to them. Next he pushed his election to the Consulship : and when he had taken all his measures like a scrupulous candidate, and one who was far from wanting to curb by his presence the liberty of the suffrages, he went out of the city.

This election was extremely irregular, such as there never had been any instance of before, nor was it ever imitated afterwards. 'Tis true, that the two Consuls being dead, it was not easy to proceed according to the laws, and antient customs, to the nomination of their successors. The inter-reigning Consuls could not be nominated till the Curule magistrate's office was expired ; and consequently to elect

Consuls,

A. R. 739. Consuls, by the way of inter-regnum, it was
 Ant. C. 43. necessary to wait till the first of January. Sylla
 had got himself established Dictator, in a case
 similar to the present: and Cæsar had usurped
 the same title without the help of the Consuls.
 But this resource, tho' unlawful, was yet want-
 ing here, because the name of Dictator had
 been abolished for ever by a law of Antony.
 He was advised to create two Pro-consuls by a
 decree of the Prætor of the city, supported no
 doubt by the authority of the Senate, whose
 office should be confined to preside in the as-
 semblies where the Consuls were to be elected.
 Thus Octavius was named Consul, together with
 Q. Pedius, one of his co-heirs, which they
 gave him rather as a servant than a colleague.
 He took possession of the Consulship the tenth
 day of August, when he was not yet full twenty
 years old, according to the common way of
 reckoning, for he was born the twenty-second
 of September. But as in order to reform the
 kalendar, Cæsar had made one year to consist
 of fifteen months instead of twelve, the months
 which were added ought to be reckoned into
 the age of Octavius. And thus he was entered,
 according to this computation, into his twenty-
 first year when he was made Consul.

After the ceremony of taking possession was
 over, the first use that he made of his consular
 power, was to secure to himself his estate. He
 put the last seal to the affair of his adoption,
 by having it ratified in the assembly of the *Curii*,
 which the opposition and artifice of Antony
 had hindered him from obtaining the year be-
 fore. By this formality he entered into full
 possession of all the rights of Cæsar's son.

He

He next supported the obligations of this title, in avenging by the publick authority, which he had now in his own hands, the death of his father. This I shall relate in the following book, and in the mean time lay before the reader the reflections and complaints of Brutus against Cicero : one of the most precious fragments which antiquity has transmitted to us, and where we see with admiration that great superiority which virtue gives a person over the best talents, dignities, and the advantage of age.

Cicero, as I have said, had wrote to young Cæsar in favour of Brutus and Cassius, in the following terms : “ There ^{*} is one thing, said he, demanded and expected of you, which is, that you consent to preserve to the Republick, persons who are much esteemed by all good men, and indeed by all the Romans.” Brutus, to whom this part of Cicero’s letter had been sent by Atticus, consequently wrote to him, who imagined he had done him a friendly office. At first he thanks him very politely for his good intentions, but enraged at his going so far, he repeats to Cicero his own words, and then he adds, “ It is your opinion then, that if Octavius does not consent to our preservation, we must cer-

* Unum ais esse, quod ab eo postuletur & exspectetur: ut eos cives de quibus viri boni populusque Romanus bene existimet, salvos velit. Quid si nolit, non erimus? Atqui non esse, quam esse per illum, præstat. Ego, medius fidius, non existimo tam omnes deos aversos esse à

salute populi Romani, ut Octavius orandus sit pro salute cuiusquam civis, non dicam pro liberatoribus Orbis terrarum. Juvat enim magnificè loqui; & certè decet, adversus ignorantes, quid pro quoque timendum, aut à quoque petendum sit.

A. R. 709. "taintly perish. I would have you know that
 Ant. C. 73. "it is better for us to perish, than to be pro-
 "tected by him. I can never believe that the
 "gods have taken such an aversion to the Ro-
 "mans, as that it should become necessary to
 "beseech Octavius for the safety of the most
 "worthless Citizen, so far is it from being ne-
 "cessary for the deliverance of the universe.
 "It gives me pleasure to make use of haughty
 "expressions here, and certainly it is proper
 "to use them to those who do not know what
 "is to be feared for some people, and de-
 "manded from others."

Brutus proves to Cicero, and makes him sensible of it, how unworthy it was to acknowledge Octavius for a master, and to address a supplication of that nature to him. He observes, that if he, and those of his opinion were desirous to be obliged to any one for protection, Antony would have given them the most advantageous terms. "And ^a this child, says
 "he, whom the name of Cæsar, which he
 "bears, seems to animate against those who
 "have killed the other Cæsar, how much do
 "you think it would have cost him to have
 "purchased our consent to that power which he
 "aspires to, provided we were in the humour
 "to listen to such a proposal ; and which he
 "would certainly have obtained, because we

• *Hic ipse puer, quem lamus. . . . Sed mihi prius
 Cæsaris nomen imitare vi-
 detur in Cæsaris interiecto-
 res, quanti æstimer (si sit
 commercio locu:) posse no-
 bis auctoribus tantum, quan-
 tum profectò poterit. q[uo]d ni-
 am vivere, & pecunias ha-
 bere & dici consulaes vo-*

omnia dii dæque eripuerint,
 quam illud judicium, quo
 non modò hæredi ejus quem
 occidi non concesserim quod
 in illo non tuli, sed ne patri
 quidem meo, si reviviscat,
 ut paciente me plus legibus
 ac Senatu possit.

" want

“ want to preserve our lives, to be rich, and ^{A. R. 709.}
 “ maintain our rank as Consuls? But may the ^{Ant. C. 43.}
 “ gods deprive me of every thing in the world,
 “ sooner than the constant resolution I have
 “ taken, not only to refuse the heir of him I
 “ have killed, that which I would not agree
 “ to in himself, but also not to consent that
 “ even my father, were he to return to life,
 “ should be more powerful than the laws and
 “ the Senate.”

What he further adds, is in the manner of the Stoicks, but the subtilty of it does not at all diminish the elevation of the sentiments contained in it. “ There ^{*} is a contradiction, says he to Cicero, in what you demand; and it is impossible it should be granted. You ask Octavius to consent to our preservation. Do you imagine, that after we have received security for our lives, by that alone we shall enjoy a real safety? What kind of safety can that be called which must cost us both our honour and liberty? Do you believe that to live in Rome, is to enjoy safety? 'Tis the thing, and not the place, that ought to procure one that inestimable blessing. I was robbed of it while Cæsar lived, till the day I formed the project of that great and memorable action; and I cannot be banish-

“ Qui porro, id quod pe- esse? Res, non locus, oportet pænitentia illuc mihi. Ne-
 tis, fieri potest, ut impetres? Rogas enim, velit nos salvos que incolumis sui Cæsare
 esse. Videmur ergo tibi sa- vivo, nisi postquam illud
 ludem accepturi, quum vitam consciens facinus; neque us-
 acceperimus? quam, si prius quam exsul esse possum, dura
 dimittimus dignitatem ac li- servire & pati contumelias
 bertatem, qui possumus ac- pejus odero malis omnibus
 cipere? An tu Romæ habi- aliis.

A. R. 709. " ed in whatever place I am, as long as I look
 Aet. C. 43. " upon slavery and the disgrace annexed to it,
 " as the greatest of evils."

A little afterwards he mentions some things relating particularly to Cicero, and gives him very strong lessons in a very free manner. " Do " not recommend me any more, says he, to " the protection of your young Cæsar. If " you would take my advice you should not " recommend yourself to him. You must " surely put a very great value on the number " of years which you can now hope to live, " since that can make you stoop to supplicate " a child. Besides, I would have you beware " of tarnishing the glory of those great things " you have done, and still continue to do " against Antony. Take care that people do " not impute them to generosity, but to a con- " cern for your own safety ; for if you are " willing to ask pardon for us of Octavius, " people will think that your scheme has not " been to avoid having a master, but to find " out one who loved you, and was good na- " tured."

After some other reflections, which I omit, he proceeds thus. " For ² my part, I am a " man, who not only disdain to make any sup- " plication

• Me verò posthac ne com-
 mendaveris Cæsari tuo : ne
 te quidem ipsum, si me au-
 dies. Valde carè aestimas
 tot annos, quot ista ætas re-
 cipit, si propter eam causam
 puerò isti supplicaturus es.
 Deinde, quod pulcherrimè
 fecisti ac facis in Antonio,
 vide ne convertatur à laude

maximi animi ad opinionem
 formidinis. Nam si Octa-
 vius tibi placet, à quo de
 nostra salute petendum sit,
 non dominum fugisse, sed
 amiciorem dominum quæ-
 sisse videberis.

• Ego verò is sum, qui non
 modò non supplicem, sed e-
 tiam coercedam postulantes

ut

“ plication myself, but discourage all those ^{A. R. 709,}
 “ who advise me to it ; in which, if I do not ^{Ant. C. 43.}
 “ succeed, at least I shall not be mortified with
 “ the view of voluntary slavery. Every place
 “ where I can be free, shall be to me a Rome ;
 “ and I shall commiserate you and those other
 “ Senators, whom neither age, past honours,
 “ nor the examples of virtue in others could
 “ teach to despise life.”

He further declares a steady resolution to try every thing to deliver his country from slavery ; and adds, “ If ^a I meet with the success which is due to so noble a project, the joy will be universal ; if not, at least I shall rejoice myself. For in what actions or schemes can I better employ my life, than in those which tend to establish my fellow-citizens in possession of their liberties ?”

When he comes to conclude, he is more gentle, but nevertheless still preserves the ascendant. “ I ^b beseech and advise you, my dear Cicero, not to despise or be discouraged ; and while you are careful to avert the present evils, endeavour to prevent those still greater which threaten you. Be persuaded, that the zeal for liberty, and the generous courage by which

“ you

ut sibi supplicetur. Aut longè à servientibus abero, mihi- que esse judicabo Romam, ubiunque liberum esse licebit : ac vestri miserebor, quibus nec ætas, neque honores, neque virtus aliena dulcedinem vivendi minuere potuerit.

• Si secuta fuerit quæ de- bet fortuna, gaudebimus omnes : sin minus, ego tamen

gaudebo. Quibus enim potius hæc vita factis aut cogitationibus traducatur, quam iis quæ pertinuerint ad libera- randos cives meos ?

• Te, Cicero, rogo atque hortor ne defatigere, neu diffidas : semper in præsentibus malis prohibendis futura quoque nisi antè sit occursum, explores ne se insinuent. Fortem & liberum animum

A. R. 709. " you have saved the Republick both former-
Aet. C. 43. " ly from the rage of Catiline, and lately from
" that of Antony ; be persuaded, I say, that
" that courage will lose its reward, unless sup-
" ported by a constant perseverance. For cer-
" tainly that virtue which has been put to the
" trial, is subject to a more severe law, than
" that which has not yet discovered itself.
" Whoever has begun to do good actions,
" ought to expect that a continuation of the
" same conduct will be demanded of him as a
" debt ; and if he is deficient in it, we are in-
" duced to censure him rigorously, as having
" deceived us. Thus for Cicero to resist An-
" tony, is doubtless worthy of very great praise ;
" but no body is surprized at it, because so
" great a Consul as he has shewed himself,
" must be expected to give a good account of
" his Consulship. On the contrary, if the same
" Cicero should be remiss with regard to others,
" after having shewed his firmness against An-
" tony, he will not only deprive himself of the
" glory which he might justly expect, but also
" lose that which he had before acquired. For
" there is nothing truly glorious, but that

animum quo & Consul, &
nunc Consularis temp̄ publicam
vindicasti, sine contentia &
æquabilitate nullum esse pu-
taris. Fateor enim curiorem
esse conditionem spectatæ
virtutis, quam incognitæ. Be-
nefacti pro debitis exi-
mas. Quæ aliter eveniuntur,
ut decep̄ti ab his, inlesto ani-
mo reprehendimus. Itaque
resistere Antonio Ciceronem,
et si migrat laude dignum est,
tamen, quia ille Consul hunc

Consularem meritò præstare
videtur, nemo admiratur.
Idem Cicero si flexerit ad-
versus alios judicium suum,
quod tantâ firmitate ac mag-
nitudine d̄exit in exturban-
do Antonio, non modò reli-
qui temporis gloriam eri-
puerit sibi, sed etiam præte-
rita evanescere coget. Nihil
enim per se amplum est, nisi
in quo judicii ratio exstat.
Brut. ad Cic. 16.

" which

" which proceeds from a mind that is firm, A. R. 702.
Ap. C. 43.
" and acting out of principle."

It must be owned, that Brutus appears very much superior to Cicero in this letter. But that virtue, which is purely human, is always contradictory to itself in some respect. Thus there is a pride which discovers itself visibly in a great many of the sentiments of Brutus ; and this hero's Stoicism promised him a firmness which his bad success deprived him of, as we shall see at his death. 'Tis revelation alone, as I have had occasion to remark, that furnishes us with a solid support for virtue, by shewing us the reward of another life.

At the end of Brutus's letter to Cicero, there follows another from him to Atticus, which is no less interesting. The principal subject of this also is Cicero, against whom Brutus expresses himself with less reserve, tho' without the least passion. There had never been a thorough intimacy between them, as any one may easily observe, who reads with attention Cicero's letter to Atticus. The same interest and manner of thinking, with regard to government, had made them contract a sincere friendship, but always accompanied with some seeds of disunion. The difference of their characters was an obstacle to the uniting of their hearts. The one was more gentle, pliable, and disposed to make allowances for circumstances of times and persons ; the other was more haughty and rigid, taking truth and justice for the only rule of his sentiments and conduct, so that it was no easy matter for two persons of such different characters to agree perfectly in every circumstance.

The subject of this letter from Brutus to Atticus, is, that Cicero, who layed praise, had

A. R. 709. complained, that Brutus never paid him any
 Ant. C. 43. compliment upon the real services which he had render'd to the Republick. Brutus answered, that Cicero had performed wonders against Antony, but that he spoiled all by his complaisance for young Octavius. This answer is wrote with great copiousness, energy, and nobleness of sentiment. I shall give an extract of some of the most beautiful parts of it.

Brutus • accuses Cicero of having pushed the desire he had of pleasing Octavius so far as to insult Casca, one of those who had killed Cæsar, and to treat him as an *Affassin*. If the fact was true, it was certainly very strange. Brutus looks upon it as certain, and expresses very strongly his indignation against it. “ Cicero is not sensible, then, says he, that these injurious terms which he makes use of fall more justly on himself, since he has occasioned the death of five illustrious citizens instead of one. He must own himself to be an *Affassin* before he can brand Casca with that name; and, with regard to our associate, he imitates the invectives of Catoline's favourers. What! because we are not constantly praising our ides * of March, as he

* Nescio quid scribam tibi, nisi unum: pueri & cupiditatem & licentiam potius esse irritatam quam repressam à Cicerone; tantumque eum tribuere huic indulgentiæ, ut se maledictis non abstineat, iis quidem quæ in ipsum dupliciter recidunt, quod & plures occidit uno, seque prius oportet fateatur sicarium, quam objiciat Casca quod ob-

jicit, & imitatur in Casca Bestiam. An quia non omnibus horis jectamus Idus Martias, similiter atque ille Nonas Decembres suas in ore habet, eo meliore conditione pulcherrimum factum vituberabit, quam Bestia & Clodius reprehendere illius Consulatum soliti sint?

* *The day on which Cæsar was killed.*

“ has always in his mouth the † ^{A. R. 709.} ^{Ant. C. 43.} nones of De-
 “ cember, does he think that he has a better
 “ right to decry an heroic action, than Bestia ||
 “ and Clodius had to criticise his consulship?”

Brutus proceeds directly to the principal object of his letter. “ Our ^a friend Cicero, says
 “ he, glories in having supported the war a-
 “ gainst Antony, without going out of Rome.
 “ And of what use can this great piece of fer-
 “ vice be to me, if by way of recompence for
 “ having oppressed Antony, I am demanded
 “ to restore him to his former dignity ; and
 “ if the avenger of the first tyrant must be al-
 “ lowed to set up another, who, if we suffer
 “ it, will be more strongly established, and
 “ more hardly extirpated ? No, Cicero in
 “ acting thus, does not shew his fear of
 “ tyranny, but only that he will not have An-
 “ tony for the tyrant. But I can never ap-
 “ prove of his way of thinking, who has an
 “ aversion only for the person and not for the
 “ thing, being no ways afraid of slavery
 “ in itself, but of slavery under an exasperated
 “ master.”

What follows a little below is still more bitterly expressed. “ We ^b are but too afraid of
 “ death

† The day on which the accomplices of Catiline were condemned to death by the Senate.

|| Tribunes of the people, who railed at Cicero's Consulship.

* Sustinuisse mihi gloria-
 tur bellum Antonii togatus
 Cicero noster. Quid hoc
 mihi prodest, si merces An-
 tonii oppressi poscitur in An-

tonii locum successio; & si vin-
 dex illius mali, auctor extitit
 alterius, fundamentum & ra-
 dices habituri altiores, si pa-
 tiamur ? ut jam ista quæ fa-
 cit, non dominationem, non,
 sed dominum Antonium ti-
 mentis sint.

* Nimiùm timemus mor-
 tem, & exsiliū, & pauper-
 tam. Hæc videntur Cice-
 roni ultima esse in malis : &
 dum

A. R. 709. " death, says he, of exile and poverty. These,
 &c. C. 43. " according to Cicero, are the worst of evils;
 " and, provided he has to do with men, of
 " whom he can obtain his desires, and be
 " praised and caressed, he does not refuse a
 " slavery which is honourable, if there can any
 " thing be said to be honourable in the midst of
 " misery and disgrace. Although Octavius
 " calls Cicero his father, consults him in every
 " thing, praises him, and returns him ac-
 " knowledgments, yet these fine compliments
 " will soon be belied by their effects. For
 " who is there so void of common sense as to
 " look upon one as his father, who is not even
 " a freeman? In the mean time our friend is
 " in the right to regard the friendship and fa-
 " vour of Octavius as the object of his wishes,
 " and ultimate aim of his politicks. I have
 " no more any regard for all those fine ac-
 " complishments with which Cicero is adorn-
 " ed. Of what service is it to him, all that

dum habeat à quibus impe-
 tret quæ velit, & à quibus
 colatur ac laudetur, servitu-
 tem, honorificam modò, non
 aspernatur: si quidquam in
 extrema ac mitterima contu-
 melia potest honorificum esse.
 Liceat ergo patrem appeller
 Octavius Ciceronem, referat
 omnia, laudet, gratias agat;
 tamen illud apparebit, ver-
 ba rebus esse contraria. Quid
 enim tam alienum ab huma-
 nis sensibus est, quām eum
 patris habere loco, qui ne
 liberi quidem hominis sume-
 ro fit? Atqui eò tendit, id
 agit, ad eum exitum prope-
 rat vir optimus, ut si illi Octa-

vius propitius. Ego jam iis
 artibus nihil tribuo, quibus
 scio Ciceronem instructissi-
 mum esse. Quid enim illi pro-
 font quæ pro libertate patriæ,
 quæ de dignitate, quæ de
 morte, exfilio, pauperate,
 scripsit copiosissime? Quan-
 to autem magis illa callere
 videtur Philippus, qui pri-
 vigno minus tribuerit, quām
 Cicero alieno tribuat? De-
 sinat igitur gloriando etiam
 infectati dolores nostros. Quid
 enim nostrā, viclum esse An-
 tonium, si vicitus est ut alii
 vacaret quod ille obtinuit?
 tametsi ruræ litteræ dubia
 etiam nunc significant.

" he

“ he has wrote with so much eloquence for ^{A. R. 709.} the liberty of his country, upon the glory of ^{Ant. C. 43.} virtue, death, exile and poverty? How much more must Philip, though not a man of learning, appear to possess those great maxims? He does less for his son-in-law, than Cicero for a stranger. Let him cease then to increase our troubles, by praising himself at such a rate. Of what service is it to us that Antony has been vanquished, if that was done only to fill his place with another? Besides your letter makes me apprehend that the victory is not entire, nor quite confirmed.

“ I agree ¹, then, that Cicero shall live, since he is resolved upon it, suppliant and dependent, if he is not ashamed to dishonour his age, his former high offices, and glory. As for me I will make war for ever, I do not say against persons, but the thing itself, against tyranny, against those commands issued in an extraordinary manner, against that domination and power which would raise itself above the laws; and there is no slavery so agreeable and advantageous, the offer of which can seduce me, or make me abandon my resolution. In vain you tell me that Antony is an honest man. I never believed it. Our ancestors never would allow that

* *Vivat hercule Cicero, supra leges se esse velit, nulla erit tam bona conditio ser-
viendi quam deterrear: quam-
vis sit vir bonus, ut scribis,
Antonius; quod ego nun-
quam existimavi. Sed domi-
num, ne parentem quidem
maiores nostri voluerunt esse.*

A. R. 709. " in the Republick, a father should be suffered
 Ant. C. 43. " ed to be a master and a tyrant."

Brutus after this long invective, which he very well knew would grieve Atticus, makes some excuse for it, but however without retracting. On the contrary, he insists afresh upon the very foundation of the thing. " Be persuaded, says he, that my affection for Cicero is not in the least diminished, but my esteem very much; for it is impossible that we should not judge of objects according to their appearances."

It must be confessed, that these two letters of Brutus, have a haughtiness and roughness which few people are capable of. But had it been possible to have preserved the liberty of Rome, it could only have been done by a man of that character. The conduct of Cicero, especially towards the latter times, could not bear a comparison with that of Brutus. It was too gentle, timorous, and ineffectual; and I am surprized, how people can undertake to justify his complaisance for Octavius, when they see how he was rewarded for it. What could happen worse to him than a cruel death? And how much more glorious would this death have been, had he shewn the same vigorous spirit against Octavius, as that with which he subdued the tyrannical power of Anthony?

The foundation of the town of Lyons. In concluding this book, I ought not to omit the origin of one of the principal towns of France; viz. Lyons, which was founded by

Dio.

* Persuade tibi de voluntate propria mea nihil remisum esse, de judicio largiter. Neque enim impetrari potest, quin quale quidque videntur ei, talem quisque de illo opinionem habeat. *Brut. Attico.*

Minutius

Minutius Plancus, who, while he waver'd, A. R. 709. waiting to declare himself for that party which appear'd the strongest, established a colony at the confluence of the Saone and the Rhone. Ant. C. 43. The inhabitants of this town came from Vienne, formerly the capital of the Allobrogi, and afterwards a Roman colony. During the dissensions and wars between the Roman generals, the natives of that country had laid hold of the opportunity to drive out from their antient capital, the new comers who oppressed them. These retired to the place where Plancus, by order of the Senate, built the town of Lyons. Vienne soon after returned under the Roman power; but looked with a jealous eye on the rapid increase of the new colony, which, by the advantage of its situation, soon became very flourishing; and hence arose a rivalship between those two towns, which has lasted for several ages.

A. R. 709.
Ant. C. 43.



BOOK XLIX.

THE second triumvirate. A proscription. The ruin of the Republican party at Philippi. The death of Casius and Brutus. *An. Rom.* 709, 710.

§. I.

Ostavius legally condemns all those who had killed Cæsar. Sextus Pompeius and Cn. Domitius, who had no part in the action, are comprehended in the condemnation. Octavius puts to death Q. Gallius Praetor of the City. He makes the Senate revoke the decree against Antony and Lepidus. The misfortune and death of Decimus. Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, unite together. Their interview in an island of the Reno. They wrangle about those whom they ought to proscribe. The exchange of Cicero's head, against those of the uncle of Antony and the brother of Lepidus. The project of a triumvirate. The marriage of Octavius with Antony's daughter-in-law is resolved upon. Prelude to the massacres. Great terror in Rome. The death of the Consul Pedius. The entry of the three generals into Rome. A law to establish the Triumvirate. The edit of the proscription. The proscription of the Triumviri more numerous than that of Sylla. A great many are proscribed on account of their riches. Affectation in the choice of the names placed at the head of the catalogue of the proscription. Octavius as cruel

cruel as his Colleagues, or rather more so. The death of Cicero. Invectives of writers of all sorts against Antony, upon the subject of Cicero's death. The reason why Octavius has been spared. Character of Cicero. An expression of Brutus concerning his death. C. Antonius killed by way of reprisal. The death of Quintus Cicero and his son. L. Cæsar saved by his sister, Antony's mother. Lepidus consents to the escape of his brother Paulus. The death of Pollio's father-in-law, of the brother of Plancus, and of Toranius tutor to Octavius. Verres is proscribed. An example of the pietv of Æneas renewed by the son of Oppius. Varro put into custody by Cæleus. Atticus scratched out of the list of the proscribed. An elogium of his prudence and humanity. Messala blotted out of the number of the proscribed. Particular observations upon some of the proscribed. Fulvia makes a figure in the proscription. The publick hatred falls particularly upon Antony. The odious triumphs of Lepidus and Plancus. Refuges opened to the proscribed out of Italy, especially with Sextus Pompeius. Exactions of the Triumvirate. A tax imposed by them on the ladies. Hortensia's speech upon this subject. Ventidius is made Consul. His surprizing fortune. Civic crowns decreed to the Triumviri. The Triumviri swear to observe the acts of Cæsar, and make others also do the same. They appoint magistrates for several years.

OCTAVIUS having obtained the Consulship by the means already mentioned, and thus united to the force of his arms, the title of publick authority, began to execute the design he had always had at heart, tho' he had

Octavius
legally con-
demns those
who had
killed
Cæsar.

A. R. 709.
Ant. C. 43.

con-

A. R. 709. concealed it a great while, and undertook to
 Ant. C. 43. avenge the death of Cæsar. He took the ad-
 vantage of the Consular authority to act legal-
 ly in this affair. He caused the people to ab-
 solve Dollabella, whom the Senate had de-
 clared an enemy to the publick, on account of
 the murder of Trebonius ; and immediately
 established by virtue of a law, which was pro-
 posed by his Colleague Pedius, and supported
 by the votes of the people, a court of justice,
 or extraordinary commission, to enquire into
 the assassination of Cæsar ; and proceed to the
 tryal and condemnation of the assassins and
 their accomplices.

They were summoned in form, and an offi-
 cer called them by their names, to appear at
 the foot of the Tribunal, but they were all ab-
 sent ; for those among them who were at Rome
 when Octavius approached, had taken care to a-
 void the storm by a speedy flight. Thus not one
 of them answered to the summons. It is report-
 ed that at the name of Brutus proclaimed by
 the officer, the whole multitude which fill'd
 the place burst into tears ; and that the more
 eminent citizens held down their heads with
 shame and confusion. The affair however
 was pushed with no less vigour upon that ac-
 count. There were great rewards promised to
 the accusers. L. Cornificius accused Brutus ;
 and Agrippa, who was always attached to Oc-
 tavius, took upon him that odious office a-
 gainst Cassius. It very well agrees with the
 low flattering character of the historian Vellei-
 us, to boast as he has done, that Capito his
 uncle seconded Agrippa in this affair. They
 were all banished under the greatest penalty
 which the Roman laws could impose : that is
 to

to say exile and confiscation of their goods. A. R. 709.
Ant. C. 43.
Only one of the judges had the courage to absolve Brutus without being afraid of the presence of the young Consul, who assisted personally in court, to observe how every one voted. This judge so intrepid was called Cicilius Coronas, and was a Senator. Octavius persisting always in the same affectation of clemency, did not seem to take amiss the boldness of Cicilius; but soon after he banished him.

Amongst the accused was Casca, a Tribune of the people. As his office rendered his person sacred, and put him beyond the reach of the law, Octavius caused him to be deprived of it by the votes of the Tribunes, upon a proposal of Titius, one of Casca's Colleagues, who was willing to assist in vilifying an office with which he himself was invested.

It was not without design, that in the law *Sextus of Pedius*, to the murderers of Cæsar they added their accomplices. This undetermined addition gave Octavius the power, easily to include in the same condemnation with the real authors of the death of his great uncle, those who had no other crime than that of being suspected or formidable to him. There were several of them no doubt; but in what remains of the history of those times I find only two mentioned.

The first is *Sextus Pompeius*, who, so far from having had any part in the conspiracy, had probably never heard of it before it was executed, being then in the farthest corner of Spain. But he was the last branch of an enemy's family, which Octavius desired to sacrifice to his safety. I reckon as the second *Cn.*

A. R. 709. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the son of that L.
 Ant. C. 43. Domitius, who having always shown an irre-
 concileable hatred to Cæsar, was kill'd when
 Appian. he fled from Pharsalia. Antony, in Appian,
 Civil. L. positively assures us, that Cn. Domitius had
 V. p. 707. no hand in the murder of the Dictator ; and
 Suet. Ner. the testimony of Suetonius is to the same pur-
 C. 3. pose. What nevertheless renders the thing
 Cic. Phil. doubtful is, that Cicero in his second Philippic
 II. N. 27. ranks him amongst the conspirators. Perhaps
 he might be of the number of those who had
 the vanity immediately after the death of
 Cæsar to join with Brutus and Cassius in the
 Capitol, and wanted to partake of the glory
 of an action, in which they had run no risk. In
 this case it is not surprizing that Cicero, speak-
 ing in praise of the conspiracy, thought it his
 duty to give a share of the honour to Domiti-
 us who longed for it ; and, on the other hand,
 after the conspiracy was become punishable in
 the highest degree, it is still more easy to con-
 ceive that Domitius should carefully purge
 himself of it, and proclaim to all the world,
 which was very true, that he had no hand in
 it. It is certain however that he obtained be-
 lief, and, by the consent of Octavius arrived
 at the Consulship, nay his son married into the
 family of the Cæsars, and became the uncle of
 Nero.

Octavius
 puts to
 death Q.
 Gallius
 Praetor of
 the city.
 Suet. Aug.
 27.

Tho' Octavius at that time seemed wholly
 engaged in avenging the death of his adoptive
 father, and in other respects put on a good-
 natured appearance, he nevertheless discover'd
 his cruelty with regard to Q. Gallius, at that
 time Praetor ; and who since the death of
 Cornutus had the jurisdiction of the city. Suetonius relates the fact with very aggravating
 circum-

circumstances. He says, that Gallius being ^{A. R. 709.} come to salute the Consul, and carrying ^{A. S. C. 43.} a pocket-book under his robe, was suspected of concealing a poignard there; and upon that alone Octavius, without examining into the affair, for fear of finding Gallius innocent, made them hurry him away, gave him the question like a slave, and, in fine, ordered them to put him to death, after having pull'd out his eyes with his own hands. I own I can hardly believe, that Octavius could be guilty of so brutal a barbarity. He relates himself, in the memoirs which he composed of his life, that Gallius, having demanded a conference of him, endeavour'd to assassinate him; that in consequence of this he was put in prison, from which being released on condition of leaving Rome, he perished either by shipwreck, or by the hands of robbers on the high-way. This relation appears to me much more probable, only it is natural to think that Octavius dis-
guises under the notion of a shipwreck, or the attack by robbers, his order for assassinating Gallius as soon as he was out of Rome.

It was no great affair to denounce condemnation against those who had kill'd Cæsar; but ^{He makes} the Senate to put the sentence in execution, they must ^{revoke the} vanquish twenty Legions which Brutus and ^{decree a-} Cassius had under their command. Octavius ^{against An-} was not strong enough for such an enterprize ^{tony and} Lepidus. ^{Lepidus.} alone. He therefore resolved to put the last hand to the treaty of reconciliation and alliance, which had for some time been negotiated between him, Antony, and Lepidus. He had been charged by the Senate to make war against them; and as he still feigned to obey the orders of the Senate, which he had crush-

A. R. 709. ed, he departed with his army with a design,
A. R. C. 43. as he said, to fulfil his commission. But in his absence Pedius his Colleague proposed to the Senate, to revoke the decrees by which Anthony and Lepidus had been declared enemies to their country. The abject Senators durst not reject the proposal, but they wanted to oblige Octavius to explain himself, tho' he had already sufficiently shewn his intentions, and they deferred coming to a resolution till they knew his opinion. He answered with his usual dissimulation, that he was not at liberty to determine in this affair according to his mind; that the soldiers obliged him to incline towards clemency. Thus the Senate re-established Anthony and Lepidus in all their rights and dignities, and Octavius wrote to Anthony, that he intended to join him against Decimus.

*The ruin
of Decimus
and the
death of
Decimus.*

It was no difficult matter to destroy this only chief of the Republican party in the west. In an instant all was turned against him. Pollio who arrived from Spain with two Legions joined Antony; and Plancus, who after the raising of the siege of Modena, had testified a great deal of zeal for the cause of liberty and for Decimus, not only abandoned his unfortunate Colleague, but even undertook to betray him; and not being able to succeed in it, he deserted to Antony with his four Legions.

Cic. ad
Fam. X.
24.

Decimus had a considerable army, *viz.* ten Legions; but the strength of it was not proportioned to the number of troops, being almost all new levied. Not being able then to support himself against so many and such powerful enemies, he quitted Gaul, passed the Alps. and resolved to gain Illyria, in order to join M. Brutus in Macedonia; but Octavius guarded

guarded all the passages. Decimus in so great ^{A. R. 709.} an extremity endeavour'd to take the rout of ^{Ant. C. 43.} Germany, and to make his way to Brutus through those barbarous nations, which in those days occupied that vast country. But the soldiers refusing to follow so desperate a resolution, almost all left him, and ranged themselves some under the standard of Antony, and others under that of Octavius. There remained only three hundred Gaulish horse, which formed his guard, and which presently dispersed themselves different ways, so that he was obliged to fly himself with only nine attendants. After having wandered in different parts, he was at last stopt in Burgundy by robbers, who at his earnest desire conveyed him to the prince, or ruler of the country, who was called Camelus or Capenus, and whom Decimus look'd upon as a friend. This Gaul received him graciously, and with all the external demonstrations of respect; but he privately informed Antony, who sent an officer named Furius, accompanied with some horsemen, with orders to bring him the head of the fugitive.

Had it been possible for the unfortunate Decimus to have escaped, the generosity of a friend would certainly have saved him; for at the approach of those who were sent to kill him, he hid himself in an obscure retreat, and Antony's men having pursued him thither, Ser. Terentius, favoured by the obscurity of the place, presented himself instead of Decimus, and was almost killed for him; but Furius knew his victim and prevented the mistake. Decimus was then pull'd out of his lurking place, trembling, and he shewed in his

Val. Max.
IV. 7.

A. R. 709. last moments a timidity and love for life,
 Ant. C. 43
 V. i. 1. x. which seemed to disturb his reason. For he
 IX. 13. withdrew back his head from the sword, and
 Sereca when they ordered him to stand firm, “Yes¹ I
 Epist. 82. will, says he, let me die if I do not.” A
 very extraordinary expression in the circum-
 stance he was then in. His head was carried
 to Antony who wanted to examine it, and
 then made them bestow the last honours upon
 it. Decimus perished the second of those who
 had attempted the life of Cæsar. Soon after-
 wards Minucius Basilius, another of the con-
 spirators, was murdered by his slaves, who
 could not bear his cruelty.

Oæavius,
 Antony
 and Lepi-
 dus unite
 together.

All the Roman forces on the establishment
 in Italy, Gaul, and Spain, were under the
 command of Octavius, Antony and Lepidus;
 and there no longer remain’d an enemy in arms
 in all these countries, only as far as they were
 enemies to one another. For each of them
 having no other object than his own particular
 power, regarded the others with a jealous eye,
 and the design of supplanting and destroying
 them reigned in his breast. But in the east
 they had common enemies to subdue, the fear
 of which suspended the effect of their diffi-
 dence and reciprocal animosities. Before
 they could turn their arms against each other,
 it was necessary to exterminate Brutus and
 Cassius.

Plot. An-
 ton.

Antony who had passed the Alps as a fugi-
 tive, repassed them at the Head of seventeen
 Legions, including the troops of Lepidus, be-
 sides six Legions which were left in Gaul under

* Non solum cervicem admonitus, ipsis his verbis
 gladio subtraxit, verum eti- juravit. : *Ha vitam, dabo.*
 am constantius eam præbere *Val. Max. IX. 13.*

the command of a very despicable man, *Lucius Varius*, his bottle companion, whose strong propensity to drinking, had gain'd him the name of *Cotyla*, which signifies a pint. *Lepidus* and *Antony*, re-united together, advanced with a formidable army towards *Bologna*, whither *Octavius* also marched with almost an equal number of troops. The three chiefs were resolved to meet and unite together from a motive already mentioned. They had only the necessary terms to consider of, and they treated of them themselves, without mediators and ministers. The affair was conducted in the following manner.

At a small distance from *Bologna* there runs a little river, in the middle of which there was an island, which was judged the propereft place for holding the conferences. It seems that this river was that which is now called the *Reno*. They took all imaginary precautions in order to prevent distrusts which were great, and but too well founded. They raised two bridges, one of which joined the island to the right bank of the river, and the other to the left. *Octavius* and *Antony* brought each five Legions within a certain distance, which had been agreed upon, and which was equal on both sides. From thence they advanced as far as the bridges, accompanied only with three hundred men each, and there they stopped. *Lepidus*, who had had no personal quarrel with either, entered the island alone, and examined it, to convince himself that there was no ambuscade to fear. Then he gave the signal to *Octavius* and *Antony*, who set out at the same time to come to him, and at meeting pushed their precautions so far as to search each other, for fear of arms be-

Their interview in the island of Reno.
Appian. Civil. I. IV.

A. R. 709. ing concealed under their cloaths. There
Ant. C. 43. were three seats placed in the middle of the
island, where they all sat down, Octavius be-
ing in the middle, as Consul.

*They
swarrelle
about this;
when the
council is
prescribe.* The greatest difficulty they met with, dur-
*The ex-
change of
Cicer's
head for
that of
Antony and
the brother
of L. Paulus* ing the three days which the conferences lasted, was the choice of those whom they ought to sacrifice to their resentment. As Antony and Octavius had made war against one another with a great deal of heat and animosity, a great many of those who were friends of the one were consequently enemies of the other; and each, being willing to satisfy his vengeance, made objections to the saving of those who had been of service to the other. Especially they debated for a long time, and very warmly, on *Plut. C.c.* the subject of Cicero. Antony declared, that *& Ant.* he could neither consent to a reconciliation, or a peace, if they did not give him up a man, who had done him so much mischief; and Lepidus was of the same opinion. Octavius opposed it the first two days, but the third he consented; and by a most unnatural exchange, for the head of Cicero, Antony yielded to him that of L. Cæsar his uncle, and Lepidus that of his brother Paulus. • Thus, says Plutarch, their passion and rage made them forget all sense of humanity; or rather they shewed by their example, that there is no brute more fierce than man, where power and passion are united. I ^b do not believe, says the same author

* Ουτες ιδεπεσον υπερ Συμβ οτεσσαν της διχωειψεως ταιτης
καλοστης των ανθρωπων λο- δικω γένεσθαι. Φοινιγαρε αντι-
γισμενοι μεταλλοι δι απειξει, καιικλασσομενοι φοινις, ομοι-
ως επει ανθρωποι Σπειρετε επει μετ οις ελαμβανου ανηρευ θες
αγγειατεει, εξειξι ταξιδια ειδοσσαν. Plut. C.c. ιδ. οσσαν αδικωτεσσι δε πορι
τες φιλες θσαν. θς απικτινο-
σαι μηδι μισθιεις. Plut. Ant.
else-

elsewhere, that ever there was a more atrocious, or more unnatural thing done than the exchange of which I speak. For trafficking together murder against murder, they became the butchers as well of those whom they gave up, as of those who were given up to them ; and the injustice was the greater with respect to their friends, whom they condemned to death even without hating them. Further one may believe, that Antony and Lepidus did no great violence to themselves, in sacrificing the one his uncle, and the other his brother. They could not but take amiss their constant zeal for the government of the Republick, and being lately declared enemies to the publick by their suffrages, they had a right to proscribe them by Appian. Dio. way of reprisal.

As to the other points, the three tyrants agreed well enough. It was concluded that Octavius should abdicate the Consulship, and give it up to Ventidius for the remaining part of the year. That they should establish sovereign magistrates for the space of five years, under the title of *Triumviri*, reformers of the Republick, with consular authority. That they should immediately appoint the annual magistrates for the five years the *Triumvirate* was to last, without having recourse either to the consent of the Senate or people. They divided among them as their patrimony, all that part of the empire which they were already masters of, or flattered themselves to be. Lepidus was to have Spain, and Narbonne Gaul. Antony took that Gaul which was conquered by Cæsar, and the Cisalpine Gaul. Octavius had Africa, with Sicily and Sardinia ; of which it was more easy to acquire the title than

A. R. 709. than the real possession. For Cornificius really
 Ant. C. 43. posseſſ'd Africa, properly ſo called, in the
 name of the Senate; and we ſhall very ſoon
 ſee Sextus Pompeius take poſſeſſion of the
 iſlands of Sicily and Sardinia. But Octavius
 was obliged to content himſelf with this ſhare,
 ſeeing his two aſſociates had more ancient pre-
 tensions, than the agreement made with him,
 to these provinces, which they appropriated to
 themſelves. Italy was not comprehended in
 this diſtribution, as being the center of the
 empire, and the country common to them all,
 of which they called themſelves the defenders
 and not the maſters. With regard to the pro-
 vinces beyond ſea, they were under the obedi-
 ence of Brutus and Caſſius, againſt whom war
 was reſolved. In order to which Antony and
 Octavius were to take the command, and paſſ
 the ſea, each of them at the head of twenty
 Legions; while Lepidus with three Legions
 was to remain in Rome, to keep Italy in awe;
 uniting with the dignity and power of a Tri-
 umvir, that of Consul, in place of D. Brutus
 who was killed. In fine they determined the
 rewards which they were to give their ſoldiers,
 and which was as tyrannical as the reſt of their
 proceedings. For they agreed to eſtabliſh
 them in colonies, in eighteen towns in Italy, of
 which both the houses and lands were to be
 given them. And theſe towns, which were ſo
 cruelly treated, were actually the largest and
 moſt beaſtful of all Italy; ſuch as Caپua,
 Reggio, Venosa, Benevento, Rimini, and ^{*}Cre-
 mona, which laſt brought Mantua into the ſame

^{*} Mantua, τα! miſerae nimium vicina Cremonae.

Virg. Eelog. IX. 28.

disgrace,

disgrace, by being unlucky in its neighbourhood. A. R. 709.
Ant. C. 43.

The three Chiefs obliged themselves by oath to execute those crimes which they had projected, and communicated to their armies what had been concluded amongst them. Octavius, to whom all the honours were constantly yielded, because he was Consul, read to the troops which were assembled together, all the articles of the treaty, excepting that which regarded the heads of the great men they intended to cut off. The soldiers celebrated, with shouts of joy, the reconciliation of the two Generals, and those of the different armies saluted each other as friends. And, further to confirm by a do-mestick alliance, the peace which yielded them so much pleasure, they proposed a marriage between Octavius and Clodia, Antony's daughter-in-law, that is to say, the daughter of Fulvia his wife by Clodius, Cicero's enemy. This young lady was hardly marriageable, and Octavius had already entered into engagements with the daughter of Servilius Isauricus. He consented however to the proposal which was made to him, trusting to the events to release him from that contract, if afterwards he should find it not agreeable.

The marriage between Antony's daughter

is resolved upon.

upon.

A. R. 709. for them, running along the streets, and visiting the houses, the terror and consternation amongst all the illustrious Citizens were exceeding great. They neither knew the number nor names of the unfortunate victims destined to the slaughter. Thus every one believed himself to be in danger, and despair urged many of them to attempt the burning of their own houses, or set fire to the publick edifices, in order not to die unrevenged. The Consul Pedius, who had remained in Rome, took an infinite deal of pains to appease the commotion, calm the spirits, and persuade those who were afraid to wait till the next day; and as soon as day-light appeared, he caused to be fixed up the names of those who were condemned to suffer. He assured them by the publick faith that there was not another person who had any thing to fear. And he acted sincerely; for he was not let into the secret of his masters. The fatigue which he underwent this night of terror and dismay was so great, that he sunk under it, and died the day following.

The entry of the three Generals into Rome. These were only preludes to the calamities which threatened Rome. Presently the authors of the publick miseries arrived, and made their entries on three different days. Octavius the first, then Lepidus, and last of all Antony; each being attended with a Pretorian Cohort or Guard, and one Legion. Thus the City was entirely filled with soldiers, which they took care to distribute in the most important posts.

A law to establish the Triumvirate. Then P. Titius, Tribune of the people, proposed the fatal law which established three sovereign magistrates, reformers of the Republick, with the consular dignity, for five years, viz. M. Antonius, Lepidus, and Octavius, who took

took possession of this office the twenty-seventh A. R. 709.
of November following, and held it to the last Ant. C. 43.
of December of the sixth year, reckoning from Tab. Ve-
their commencement. tus, apud Pigh.

One may very well imagine that the votes of the people were favourable to this law which was proposed. They even made publick rejoicings for it, as for a happy event; and the Citizens again put on the robe of peace, at the approaches of a proscription more cruel than a war. The Triumviri lost no time in publishing the edict which has been transmitted to us by Appian, and I believe the reader will not take it amiss, if I transcribe here an act very singular in its kind, and drawn up by an able hand, who was at a great deal of pains, tho' without success, to disguise the blackness of the thing, by the most specious colours possible to make use of.

After the names and qualities of the Trium- *The edict*
viri, followed the tenor of the decree, in these *of the pre-*
terms. “ If wicked men, by the most perfi- *scription.*
“ dious conduct, were not humble and sup-
“ pliant, when they stand in need of clemency,
“ and, after they have obtained it, enemies to
“ their benefactors, and capable of attempting
“ their lives; we should not have seen those
“ persons become the murderers of Cæsar,
“ whom he had saved by his mercy, after
“ having vanquished them, whom he had also
“ admitted among the number of his friends,
“ and had loaded with all sorts of favours,
“ offices, and honours; and we ourselves
“ should not be under the necessity of acting
“ a severe part against those who have offend-
“ ed us, and declared us enemies to the pub-
“ lic. But having learned both by our own
“ expe-

A. R. 709. " experience, and the treatment which Cæsar
Art. C. 43. " has received, that there is a degree of wick-
" edness which no clemency can overcome, we
" rather chuse to prevent our enemies, than
" to wait those evils which they have prepared
" for us. Our revenge therefore will neither
" appear unjust, cruel, nor excessive to any one
" who considers what we have suffered, and
" especially what Cæsar suffered. He was
" Dictator and great Pontiff; he subjected the
" most formidable nations to this Empire;
" and he first of all endeavoured to cross the
" mighty ocean, and discover to the Romans
" lands before to them unknown. And yet
" this great man has been murdered in full Se-
" nate, in a sacred place, and in the view of
" the Gods themselves. Nay, they even car-
" ried their wanton barbarity so far as to stab
" him three and thirty times with their poig-
" nards. And those who committed this
" crime, were men whom he had vanquished,
" who owed him their lives, and even some
" of them mentioned in his will amongst the
" number of his heirs. The rest, instead of
" punishing so horrible a crime, have invested
" the assassines with commands and govern-
" ments of provinces, of which they have
" known so well to take the advantage, that
" they have raised the publick money, and
" with it have levied troops against us; nay,
" even demanded it of nations at all times
" enemies to this Empire. They have burnt
" or destroyed to the very foundations, those
" towns allied to the Romans which they could
" not bring over to their party; they have in-
" timidated others, and are preparing to em-
" ploy those forces against us and their coun-
" try. " We

“ We have already punished some of these ^{A. R. 709.} criminals, and you shall very shortly see several others of them suffer the just punishment ^{Ant. C. 43.} they deserve. All the West has submitted to us, Gaul, Spain and Italy. One thing only remains for us to do, and that is attended with difficulty ; which is to pass the sea, and compleat our revenge on such of the murderers as have invaded the Eastern provinces.

“ As we are just upon the point of making a war for you, which obliges us to leave Rome, it would not be agreeable neither to our interests nor yours, to leave behind us the enemies which we have here in a condition to take advantage of our absence, by observing the uncertain events of war. It would be likewise dangerous for us in such pressing circumstances to lose time by delay. Wherefore we have resolved to rid ourselves of them all at once, and to render to them immediately that mischief which they intended us, in declaring us and our armies enemies to our country. Thus these unjust and violent men condemned an infinite number of Citizens to perish with us. But we shall be more moderate. No order, no company, no society of people shall be the object of our revenge. The choice we shall make shall not even comprehend all those who have been at variance with us, or who have endeavoured to hurt us. Riches, splendor, and honours shall be reckoned no crimes by us ; and tho' it is natural that three should have a greater number of enemies than one, yet the punishments which we shall inflict, shall not affect so many persons

A. R. 709. " sons as were proscribed before us by a single
 Ant. C. 43. " General, who, like us, in a civil dissention
 " had undertaken to reform the Republick, and
 " whom you have surnamed *happy* on account
 " of his success. We shall only punish the
 " most wicked and the most culpable; in all
 " which we have your interest in view, as
 " much as our own. For while the Chiefs of
 " the state are divided and form different par-
 " ties, you who are placed in a middle station,
 " must of consequence be great sufferers. These
 " are our motives; and further we are obliged
 " to procure some satisfaction to our soldiers
 " who have been ill used, and declared ene-
 " mies to their country, by those who had
 " formed a project for destroying us all toge-
 " ther. We might as soon as we arrived, have
 " executed those whom we had condemned.
 " But out of regard to you we strove rather to
 " proscribe them, than to surprize them at a
 " time when they did not expect, in order
 " that it might not be left in the power of the
 " soldiers to extend the effect of their revenge
 " in their passion to those who ought to be ex-
 " empted from it; but that having a list quite
 " plain, both by the number and names of
 " those whom they have orders to punish, they
 " may abstain from doing violence to any be-
 " sides.

" Upon these accounts, and for the good
 " and advantage of the publick, we forbid all
 " and every one of you to receive any of those
 " whose names are mentioned in the list sub-
 " joined to this order, to protect them, or be
 " assisting to them in their flight. Whoever
 " shall give them any aid or assistance, or shall
 " hold any kind of correspondence with them,
 " shall

“ shall be immediately added to the number A. R. 709.
Ant. C. 45.
“ of the proscribed, without being allowed
“ any manner of excuse, or means of defence.
“ Whoever shall kill any of the proscribed,
“ upon bringing their heads, shall receive as
“ their fee a hundred thousand sesterces, and
“ if a slave, forty thousand, together with his
“ liberty, and the rank of a Citizen the same
“ as his master. The same rewards are pro-
“ mised to those who shall discover any of the
“ proscribed, and the names of those who shall
“ receive those rewards shall not be registered,
“ so that he need never be afraid of being
“ known afterwards.”

I shall not stop to make a great many reflections on this bloody act, the horrid cruelty of which appears at first sight, and is extremely shocking, in spite of the frivolous pretexts with which they endeavoured to palliate it.

I shall only remark first, that, according to *The proscriptio*n of Dio, what the Triumviri boast of confining themselves to a less number of proscribed than Sylla, is false. That historian assures us positively to the contrary; and the thing itself is very probable, because any of the three was *more numerous than that* full of Sylla, as bad as the author of the first proscription. This difference produced another effect very singular and melancholy. When Sylla shewed this barbarous example, his friends, at least, had nothing to fear. But it was not the same in the present case. As Antony and Octavius had had great quarrels with each other, and were even at war against one another, the friends of the one were the enemies of the other; so that to have been attached to either, was a sufficient reason for being proscribed. They were weak friends, and dangerous enemies,

A. R. 709. Aat. C. 43. mies, sacrificing those who had done them service the more easily, because both of them intended, whenever it should be in their power, to attack and destroy each other, whence each of them endeavoured to remove from his colleague, whom he looked upon as a rival, the greatest numbers possible of his creatures and assistants ; and they were not afraid of being deprived themselves of any of their supports, provided they weakened their antagonist. The same may be said of Lepidus, who was neither less ambitious, nor more scrupulous than the two others, but only had less parts. We see by this, that the number of those proscribed by the Triumviri must have been carried very high, though we cannot exactly determine it. Sylla had affected no kind of mystery in his affair ; he even gloried in exposing to the eyes of the world four thousand seven hundred Citizens, of all ranks and conditions, which he had caused to be put to death. But Octavius, when he became master of the Empire under the name of Augustus, was ashamed of his past cruelties. It is very probable that he endeavoured to destroy the monuments of them ; and the writers have not dared to discover what the prince endeavoured to conceal. We find *Plut. Au.* the number of Senators reckoned at one hundred. *& App.* dred and thirty, according to some, and three *pian.* hundred, according to others. Appian reckons *Liv. Epif.* two thousand knights. As to the number of *cxx.* Citizens of the lower order, we are quite in the dark.

*A great many pro-
scribed on account of their riches.* My second remark regards the express declaration which the Triumviri made in their edict, to proscribe no body on account of their riches. There could be nothing more opposite to their

real intentions. They greatly wanted money, without which they could not make head against Brutus and Cassius, who had acquired great treasures, especially the last, in the rich countries of Asia and Syria. Thus it is still more true with respect to the proscription of the Triumvirate than that of Sylla, that the greatest of all crimes was to be rich, and by this means afford to these avaritious tyrants the hopes of an ample spoil.

The names which appear'd at the head of the catalogue of proscription, declared at once the whole fury of the Triumviri, and were signals of terror to demonstrate, that no body ought to expect that any consideration could be capable of moving them. The first who were proscribed were Paulus a brother of Lepidus, and L. Cæsar the uncle of Antony. Next followed Plotius the brother of Plancus, and L. Quintius, father-in-law to Pollio. Tho' in the mean time, in another list, at the side of the former, Plancus and Pollio were designed Consuls, the one for the year following, the other for the fourth year after the Triumviri were established. And as if Octavius had been apprehensive of degenerating from these examples of inhumanity, besides Cicero, whom he was so much obliged to, he proscribed C. Toranius a friend of his Suet. Aug. father, who had been his own tutor when he was a child.

It is then to little purpose that some writers have attempted to take part of the blame from Octavius, and to make a distinction between him and his Colleagues. Suetonius informs us, that at first he actually opposed the project of the proscription; but when once it was resolved upon, he pushed it with more vigour

A. R. 709.
Ant. C. 43.

*Affection
in the
choice of
the names
to be placed
at the head
of the ca-
talogue of
proscripti-
on.*

*Octavius
as cruel as
his col-
leagues,
or rather
more so.*

A. R. 709. than the other two ; and whereas Antony and
 Aet. C. 43. Lepidus allowed themselves to relent on several occasions, that he was almost always inexorable. After the proscription was executed, Lepidus thought they ought to make a kind of excuse to the Senate for the past, and give them room to expect for the future a conduct full of gentleness and clemency, because he looked upon his revenge as satisfied ; but Octavius, on the contrary, declared, that if he had put an end to the proscription, it was still without tying up his hands, or prescribing a law to him which might confine his liberty.

Dio, and especially Appian, has left us a great many observations upon the events of this proscription, and the adventures of the proscribed, who did not all perish. A great many saved themselves by different ways, which necessity, very justly called the mother of invention, pointed out to them, or their friends, their neighbours and domesticks. And with regard to those who could not escape the cruelty of their assassins, spread all over Rome, and in the other towns and country of Italy, their melancholy fortune was attended with circumstances extremely interesting. In order to shun prolixity I shall not here transcribe all the particular facts which are mentioned in authors, but only such as regard the most illustrious persons, and those whose names are the most celebrated in history. I shall content myself with a general observation from Velleius, which does but little honour to human nature, which * is, that commonly speaking, the pro-

* Id notandum est, siisse filiorum nullam. Adeo dif-
 in proscriptos uxorum fidem fidelis est hominibus utcum-
 sumam, libertorum me- que conceptæ specimora. *Vell.*
 diam, servorum aliquam, II. 67.

scribed found in their wives, in those cruel cir- A. R. 709;
cumstances, a perfect fidelity, in their freedmen Ant. C. 43.
and slaves, a tollerable one, but none at all in
their sons; so dangerous a thing is hope for
seducing the human mind, and capable of vio-
lating the most sacred rights, whenever they
become hinderances to our ambition.

Amongst the victims of the cruelty of the *The death*
Triumviri, Cicero, on a great many accounts, *of Cicero.*
was the first. He had been proscribed toge- *Liv. ap.*
ther with his son, his brother, his nephew, all *Sen.*
those who belonged to him, and who had any *Suasor. VI.*
connection with him either by friendship or *Vell. II.*
parentage. He could not promise himself a *66.*
better fate, and he ⁶ knew very well, that he *Plut. Cic.*
could no more hope for favour from Antony, *Appian.*
than Brutus and Cassius could expect it from *Dio.*
young Cæsar. For this reason he left Rome at
the approach of the Triumviri, and his first
design was to cross the sea with his brother, to
go to Macedonia, to Brutus's camp. They
travelled together some time, mutually con-
doling their bad fortune. But as their depar-
ture had been very precipitate, and they want-
ed a great many things, Quintus turned back
to make more ample provision, and Cicero
continued his rout towards Gaeta, where ha-
ving heard no news of his brother he imbar-
ked. Sometimes ⁶ the contrary winds, and

G 3

some-

• M. Cicero sub adventum
Triumvirorum cesserat urbe,
pro certo habens, id quod
erat, non magis Antonio
cripi se, quam Cæsari Bru-
tum & Cassium posse. *Liv.*

• Aliquoties in altum pro-
vectum quam modò venti
adversi retulissent, modò ip-

se jaftationem navis cæco
volvente fluctu pati non pos-
set, tædium tandem eum &
fugæ & vitæ cepit: regres-
susque ad superiorem villam,
quæ paulo plus mille passibus
à mari abest, *Moriar*, inquit,
in patria jaſe ſervata.

A. R. 709. sometimes the fatigues of the sea, which his
 An. C. 43. body, quite spent with anxiety could not support, obliged him to disembark. At last he found himself quite tired of flying and of life itself, and resolved to go to a country house which he had about a mile from the sea. “ I “ must, says he, die in my country, which I “ have saved more than once.”

Superstition, according to Plutarch, had a hand in this resolution of Cicero's; for a flock of crows alighted upon the yard of the vessel in which Cicero was, and began to peck at the ends of the ropes, which Cicero taking for a bad omen, desired them to put him on shore. The crows still followed him, and while he was in one of the chambers of his country-house lying on a couch, they flocked anew about the window, and one of them even went up to his couch, and with his beak pulled the cap from Cicero's head. The generality of mankind are greatly addicted to the marvelous, and especially with relation to the tragical deaths of great men. These trifling circumstances, which doubtless have a great mixture of the fabulous, very little deserve to be related by so judicious a writer as Plutarch. I am sorry too that he should have attributed that foolish thought to Cicero of going to Rome, stealing privately into the house of Octavius, and killing himself before the household Gods of that ungrateful man, in order to bring down upon him the wrath and vengeance of heaven. But the fear of the torment, say they, to which he thereby must expose himself, hindered him from doing it. As for my part all this seems to me to be adjusted to the

Theatre,

A. R. 709.
Ant. C. 43.

Theatre, and I confine myself to the more simple account of Titus Livius.

It appears, that Cicero's servants pull'd him out in a manner by force from his house, to endeavour to conceal him. But they had not time; for when they were upon the road, those who searched for him to kill him overtook them. Some report that they were directed by a freedman of Q. Cicero, named Philologus, who had been instructed by the very person whom he betrayed. But the fact is not at all certain. The murderers had at their head a military tribune named Popilius, who had formerly been defended by Cicero in a doubtful cause; and in recompence of this service, earnestly demanded a commission to kill his benefactor. Cicero's slaves² were willing to defend their master, but he order'd them to stop the litter, and to let him suffer quietly what his cruel fate rendered inevitable. In the mean time fixing his eyes upon the assassins, he thrust his head out at the door of the litter, and the Centurion Herennius immediately wounded him, while the soldiers themselves, touched at the misfortunes and firmness of a man so worthy of respect, turned down their

² Satis constat servos fortiter fideliterque paratos fuisse ad dimicandum: ipsum deponi lecticam, & quietos pati quod fors iniqua cogeret, jussisse. Pronimenti ex lectica, præbentique immotam cervicem, caput præcisum est. Nec satis stolidæ crudelitati militum fuit. Manus quoque, scripsisse aliquid in Antonium exprobrantes, præ-

ciderunt. Ita relatum caput ad Antonium, jussuque ejus inter duas manus in Rostris positum, ubi ille Consul, ubi saepe Consularis, ubi eo ipso anno adversus Antonium, quanta nulla unquam humana vox cum admiratione eloquentiæ, auditus fuerat. Vix attollentes præ lacrymis oculos homines intueri trucidata membra ejus poterant.

A. R. 709. eyes and covered their faces. This was not
 Ant. C. 43. enough to satisfy the brutal barbarity of the Centurion, for he cut his hands again, even reproaching him before his death of having wrote against Antony. Plutarch assures us, that in this he executed the orders of that cruel Triumvir.

Popilius carried the head and hands of Cicero to Antony, who was not at all afraid to feast his eyes upon so horible a spectacle, and after having examined attentively, and even with great bursts of laughter, the frightful and lamentable remains, order'd them to be placed on the Orator's tribunal, saying, that, as to him, the proscription was now finished. The head of Cicero was then exposed between his two hands on the same place, where so many times, both during his Consulship and afterwards, and in fine, the last year of his life, in his speech against Antony, had displayed an eloquence, which no man ever equalled, or, at least, surpassed. All the spectators were affected, and durst not raise their eyes bathed in tears to those objects, the sight of which pierced them excessively with grief. Antony ³ by this intended to insult the memory of him whom he hated, and he did not see that he dishonoured himself by this shameful revenge, which proved his insolence in prosperity, and the unworthy abuse which he made of his power. They assure us that he had the baseness to crown with his own hand Popilius the chief of the murderers, and that he suffered that wretch to place upon the Orator's tribunal

³ Καθάπτεις εἰς τὸν σεκόνδον οὐ- εοίσας ἐπιδεικνύμενος. Plut. Κείσας, εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνεψιζοῦσα τὴν Ἀντον. τοῦτο καταπογύνεια τὴν ιε-

his own picture adorn'd with a crown, at the A. R. 709.
Ant. C. 73. side of the deplorable remains of him whom he had kill'd.

Fulvia, formerly married to Clodius, but now the wife of Antony, and besides personally offended at Cicero, who had more than once expressed herself satirically against him, vented against his head that passion and rage with which she would have tormented him while alive, if she had had it in her power. Before it was fixt upon the tribunal, she placed it before her, loaded it with reproaches, spit upon it, and, having put it on her knee, she opened the mouth, and pulled out the tongue, which she pierced with her bodkin; an action worthy such a fury as this woman had always been, and continued to be to the end of her life.

Posterity has very well revenged Cicero upon Antony's outrages. No death could ever be more bitterly deplored, than that of him who had done so much honour to letters. Invectives of writers of all sorts against Antony, upon the subject of Cicero's death. Poets, orators, and historians have all signalized their grief for the melancholy end of Cicero; and by a very natural consequence have expressed an extreme indignation against his murderer. We find in a collection of Seneca Sen. the father, a great many fragments of orators Sua or. VI and antient historians who have exercised their talents upon this subject. Velleius, as great a flatterer as he was, allows himself here to be transported with, zeal so far as to interrupt the thread of his narration, and leave the stile of an historian to inveigh against Antony's Plin. VII. cruelty. Pliny the elder expresses himself very 30. strongly upon it in a few words, affirming that Cicero was not proscribed by Antony, but on

A. R. 709. the contrary, that Antony proscribed himself,
Ant. C. 43. by covering himself with infamy in the eyes of all posterity. Martial ^a declares that Antony appeared to him more criminal by the death of Cicero alone, than by all the carnage of the rest who were proscribed; and that there was no more room to reproach the wretched Pothinus, murderer of the great Pompey.

*The reason
why Octa-
vius has
been spar-
ed.*

Plut. Cic.

Octavius is spared in all these reproaches; not because he did not deserve a share of them; but because of his becoming emperor, and their being afraid, even under his successors, to shew any want of respect to his memory. And besides that he had never acted directly against Cicero, and had himself opposed, tho' weakly, the design of the proscription, he render'd him justice afterwards to a certain degree; and Plutarch has preserved to us a memorable passage on this subject. He tells us that several years afterwards, when Octavius governed the empire under the title of Augustus, he entered hastily the chamber of one of his grandsons, who happened to have a book of Cicero in his hand. The young prince alarmed, concealed the book under his robe. Augustus took it from him, and read a good deal of it. After which he returned it saying, "he was a man of genius, my son, and a lover of his country."

Auct. de
Caus.
corr. Eloq.
n. 17.

*The cha-
racter of
Cicero.*

Cicero was murthered the seventh of December, in the last month of the sixty fourth year of his age. So that according to ^b Titus

Livius,

^a Antoni, Phario nihil obiecture Pothino,
Et levius tabulâ, quam Cicerone, docens.

^b Martial. V. 69.

• Vixit tres & sexaginta immatura quidem mors vi-
a annos, ut, si vis absuict, ne deri possit. Ingenium & ope-
ribus;

Livius, whose pencil I shall here borrow to trace in miniature the portrait of so famous a man, his death could not have appear'd altogether premature, provided it had been natural. His sublime talent has displayed itself in immortal performances, and been compensated with the greatest honours. Fortune was for a long time favourable to him; but during a course of prosperity, having suffered several cruel disgraces, banishment, the fall of the party to which he was attached, the loss of his daughter, and at last a tragical and cruel end, of all his adversities he supported none with that firmness which becomes a man of courage, excepting only his death. And even his death, to judge equitably of it, may appear less undeserved, and atrocious, because he only suffer'd from his enemy what he would have made him suffer, had he had the opportunity and power in his hands. After all, let us compensate his faults with his virtues, and we shall find that he was a great man, full of fire and elevation of spirit, for ever to be remembered, and not to be sufficiently praised unless by another Cicero.

Thus Titus Livius expresses himself, who,

ribus, & præmiis operum, felix. Ipse fortunæ diu prosperæ: & in longo tenore felicitatis, magnis interim ictus vulneribus, exilio, ratiâ partium pro quibus steterat, filiæ morte, exitu tam tristi atque acerbo, omnium adversorum nihil ut viro dignum erat tulit, præter mortem: quæ verè æstimantι.

minus indigna videri potuit, quod à victore inimico nil crudelius passus erat, quam quod ejusdem fortunæ compos ipse fecisset. Si quis tamen virtutibus vitia pensarit, vir magnus, acer, memorabilis fuit, & in ejus laudes Cicerone laudatore opus fuit.

like

A. R. 709.
Ant. C. 43;

A. R. 709. like a great ^a man, praises without reserve the
 Ant. C. 43. merit and talents of others. Pollio, tho' partial enough elsewhere to Cicero, makes use of almost the same language. Only ^b to that weakness of mind in disasters with which that great genius has been reproached by all those who have mentioned him, he adds a want of moderation in prosperity. Cicero, in whatever situation he was, whether happy or miserable, never thought that it could change; very different from that well prepared heart mentioned by Horace ^c which hopes in adversity, and in prosperity fears the return of bad fortune.

*An expre-
sion of Bru-
tus con-
cerning his
death. C.
Antonius
killed by
way of re-
prisals.
Plut. Brut.* Brutus, who was always a little rigid in his sentiments, judged very severely of the death of Cicero. He said he was more ashamed of the cause of it, than afflicted at the loss. This expression has no need of a commentary, after those fragments of his letters which I have quoted, in which he censures Cicero's complaisance to Octavius with so much eagerness. Nevertheless he revenged his death, and to appease the manes of Cicero and Decimus, who were both his friends, and one of them his relation, he sent orders to Hortensius to put to death Caius Antonius his prisoner, and brother of the Triumvir. He had spared him till that time out of pure generosity, without hearken-

^a Candidissimus omnium ferre potuisset! Nam utræ-magnorum ingeniorum æsti- que quum venerant ei, mu-mator T. Livius, *Sen. ibid.* tari eas non posse rebatur.

^b Utinam moderatiùs se-cundas res, & fortius adversas *Afin. Poll. ap. Sen. ibid.*

^c Sperat infestis, metuit secundis
 Alteram fortem bene præparatum
 Pectus.

Hor. Od. II. 10.

ing

ing to the repeated instigations of Cicero, who advised him not to trust him from the beginning. Caius, during the time he was under the power of Brutus, had made two different attempts to raise a sedition among the troops of his vanquisher. The cruelty of his brother appeared to Brutus a decisive reason for sacrificing him, and I do not observe that he is blamed for it in history, although those reprisals, which certainly put no stop to the unjust violence of the enemy, seem to me but very little conformable to humanity.

The son of Cicero, who had been proscribed together with his father, was now with Brutus, and not only escaped the fury of the proscription, but was afterwards advanced to the Consulship by Octavius, as we shall see in its proper place.

Quintus Cicero and his son had not so happy a fate. The son was taken first, having been betrayed by his slaves. His behaviour had been the cause of frequent vexations to his family; and Cicero's letters to Atticus are full of complaints against him. Nevertheless on this last and melancholy occasion, he gave proofs of a filial tenderness which can never be enough commended. He concealed his father, and tho' deliver'd to the hands of the executioners, who tormented him in order to make him discover the secret, he obstinately kept a generous silence. But the father who was not far off, and heard all that passed, could not endure that his son should be so cruelly treated on his account, and therefore he discovered himself. There was a struggle between them who should die first, but the execu-

A. R. 709.
Ant. C. 43.

The death of Quintus Cicero and his son.

Appian.

Dio.

A. R. 709. executioner settled that point, by cutting both
 Ant. C. 45. their throats at the same time.

*L. Cæsar
 saved by
 his sister.
 Antony's
 mother.*

The uncle of Antony was saved by his sister Julia, the mother of the Triumvir. This lady received her brother into her house, where he continued quiet for some time; because the Centurions respected the mother of their general. There was one person however, audacious enough to come with the soldiers, and attempt to force an entry into the house. Julia presented herself at the gate, and stretching out her arms to hinder the assassins from passing; “you shall not kill Cæsar,” says she to them, “till you have first killed her who gave life to your general.” However well accustomed the soldiers were to insolence, and all sorts of cruelties, they stopped short at her generous declaration, and durst go no further. Then Julia, to deliver her brother entirely out of danger, went to the Forum, where Antony was, sitting on his tribunal with his two Colleagues, and addressing herself to him, “I come to accuse myself,” says she, of concealing L. Cæsar. Order me to be killed, since death is also denounced against those who succour any of the proscribed.” Antony answered, that she was a better sister than she had shewn herself a mother, since, tho’ she did not hinder L. Cæsar from declaring her son an enemy to the publick, she nevertheless wanted to rescue him from a just vengeance. He could not however refuse his mother, and L. Cæsar by her means enjoyed a perfect safety.

*Lepidus
 consents to
 the escape
 of his bro-
 ther Paulus.*

Paulus had not such great difficulty in obtaining favour from his brother Lepidus; for without any noise or bustle, a tacit commission of the Triumvir, and the respect which the soldiers

soldiers had for the brother of their general, A. R. 709.
gave him an opportunity of going out of Italy. Ant. C. 43.
He went to Brutus's camp, and after the bat-
tle of Philippi he retired to Miletus, and there
passed the remainder of his days, without
deigning to accept of that liberty which was
granted him to return to Rome.

There are still remaining three of the num- *The deaths*
ber of the proscribed, whose fate I ought to *of Pollio's*
give an account of. The father-in-law of Pollio, *father-in-*
having been happy enough to gain the sea *law, of*
and to embark, was overtaken by a storm. *the brother*
He was seized with a very strange kind of de- *and of To-*
spair, if we may believe Appian; and in order *ranius,*
that he might not perish by shipwreck, he threw *tutor to*
himself into the sea. I find in the same au- *Octavius.*
thor, amongst those whose ungrateful sons de-
manded and urged their death, one C. Tora-
nius, an antient Prætor, who appears to be
the tutor of Octavius whom I have mentioned.
He was killed by the soldiers. *The death of Plin.*
Plotius, the brother of Plancus was singular in *XIII. 3.*
this respect, that he was discovered by the *Val. Max.*
odour of the perfumes which he used even in his *VI. 8.*
retreat. However he was not found at once;
and his slaves, from a very commendable fi-
delity, chose rather to suffer the torture than
discover their master. Plotius however de-
livered them by discovering himself, and was
killed.

Amidst this great number of innocent per- *Verres is*
sons who deserved a better fate, one can hard- *proscribed.*
ly much lament a famous criminal, whose in-
justice and violence render him unworthy of all
pity. This is Verres, who was accused several
years before by Cicero, and reduced to banish
himself; but afterwards returned to Rome, no
doubt

A. R. 709. doubt by virtue of that law of Cæsar which
 Ant. C. 43. recalled all exiles. The same mad passion
 Plin. which he had for those curious trifles, which
 XXXIV. had made him commit so many crimes, was
 2. also the cause of his death. He had three
 beautiful vases of Corinthian brads, which An-
 tony passionately longed for ; and upon Ver-
 res's refusing to give them to the Triumvir, he
 was proscribed.

*An ex-
 ample of
 the piety of
 Æneas re-
 turned in
 the son of
 Oppius.
 Appian.*

With such a number of so many melancholy objects, let us mingle some which are more cheerful, and amongst so many crimes, give place to some instances of virtue. There is none appears to me more worthy of record, than that of a son, who renewed the example of the piety of Æneas, with the like success. His father Appius, aged and infirm, seeing himself proscribed, did not think that what remained of a languishing life was worth the pains of preserving, and was willing to wait for the murderers quietly at his own house. He could not however resist the pressing instances and zeal of his son, who took him on his shoulders, and, loaded with this precious burden, went all over the city, unknown to some, and commanding the respect of others by the beauty of so commendable and generous an action. As soon as they got out of Rome, the son, sometimes assisting his father to walk, and sometimes carrying him, when the fatigue was too great, conducted him to the sea, where he made him embark for Sicily. This admirable instance of filial piety shone forth in full lustre at a time, when, as I have said, according to Velleius, all was full of examples of unnatural sons. The people pre-
 served the remembrance of it, and some time after-

afterwards, when Rome was quieted, they made ^{A. R. 759.} young Oppius an edile. ^{Ad. C. 43.} But the goods of his father having been confiscated, the edile had not wherewithal to defray the expence of the games belonging to that office ; on which account the workmen charged nothing for their labour, and the spectators, taxing themselves willingly each according to his ability, threw upon the * Theatre a large quantity of silver, to make good, with regard to Oppius, the injustice of fortune.

F. Calenus, who had always been attached, *Varro put as may easily be observed.* to Cæsar and An- ^{into custody} tony, acted as a faithful friend with regard to ^{by Calenus.} the learned Varro. The merit of this extraordinary man, who had distinguished himself in arms as well as in letters, could not fail of rendering him odious to, and suspected by the Triumviri. Besides, he had been a friend and partizan of Pompey ; and in short Antony, during Cæsar's life-time, had taken from him part of his property. The friends of Varro disputed the honour of supporting him in his disgrace, and Calenus obtained the preference. He carried him to a country-house, where Anthony frequently came, without suspecting in the least that a proscribed person of that importance lodged under the same roof with him. Thus Varro passed all the time of danger in safety ; after which he appeared again, having suffered no other damage from the proscrip- ^{A. Gel.} tion, than the pillaging of his library. *He* ^{iii. 10.}

* *The Orchestra is the part the Senators and Vestals of the Roman theatre where sat.*

A. R. 709. lived a long while after, and continued ² his
 Ant. C. 43. learned labours as long as he lived, that is, to
 the age of a hundred years.

Atticus Atticus, an intimate friend of Cicero and
raised out of Brutus, but who nevertheless had done very
the list of essential services to the family of Antony in
the proscribed. his misfortunes, received then the reward of so
 Com. Ne- moderate a conduct. He imagined he was
pos in A- threatened, and not without foundation, for
tti vita. he was really proscribed. He therefore wisely
 resolved to conceal himself, and his refuge was
 the house of P. Volumnius, who owed him
 very great and recent obligations. He shut
 himself up there with Q. Gellius Canus, who
 had been his friend from his infancy, and . e-
 sembled him perfectly in the gentleness of his
 manners. Volumnius was caressed by Antony,
 and the companion of his pleasures. How-
 ever, he had no occasion to make use of his
 credit with him in favour of Atticus. This
 Triumvir, who was doubtless very cruel, but
 rather through passion and fury, than from his
 natural disposition, which was capable of ge-
 nerosity, remembered how much he owed to
 Atticus, and being informed of the place where
 he concealed himself, he wrote to him with his
 own hand, assuring him that he had nothing to
 fear, neither for himself nor for Gellius Canus,
 for that by his orders they were both raised out
 of the list of the proscribed. This was a dou-
 ble joy to Atticus to save his companion,
 whose friendship, which commenced when they
 were at school, constantly increased till they
 were both become old.

* In eodem lectulo & spi- operum cursus extinctus est.
 ritus ejus, & egregiorum Val. Max. viii. 7.

C. Nepos commends greatly on this occasion the prudence of Atticus; and tho' the life which he has composed of this illustrious Roman knight, is not void of panegyrick, <sup>A. R. 7c9. Ant. C. 43. A panegy-
rick on his</sup> I own ^{prudence} that I subscribe more willingly to his elogiums, <sup>and huma-
nity.</sup> than to the invidious observations of the Abbe de S. Réal. Why should not one adopt, for example, this reflection of C. Nepos? "If, " says he, we boast of the skill of a pilot who is capable of saving his vessel in a storm, and from the shelves which lie scattered under the waves, why should not we commend the prudence of a citizen who, amidst so many storms in the Republick, could save himself from shipwreck?" This prudence is so much the more commendable in Atticus, as it was always attended with good nature, generosity, and a determined inclination to do good to all. Thus having escaped himself from the danger of the proscription, he was the resource of a great number of the proscribed. He had lands and ample possessions in Epirus; and whoever among the proscribed retired there, found every thing he could wish for as long as he pleased to stay there.

I cannot finish this account of the proscribed better than with Messalla, who was then young, but promised all that could be expected from a generous mind, and a superior genius. We have a large commendation of him in a letter from Cicero to Brutus; and I shall transcribe it here so much the more willingly, as I shall have occasion to speak afterwards more than once of him who is the

* Quod si gubernator præ-
cipuâ laude fertur, qui na-
rem ex hieme marique scopu-
loso servat; cur non singula-
ris ejus existimetur prude-
tia, qui ex tot tamque gra-
vibus procellis civilibus ad
incolumitatem pervenit?

A. R. 729. subject of it. He had left Cicero to go and
 Ant. C. 43 join Brutus, by whom he was extremely be-
 loved and esteemed. Cicero says then to Bru-
 tus, " You ¹ know him, and consequently it is
 " needless to give you a character of him ;
 " but it is impossible for me to pass over in
 " silence such accomplished merit. You must
 " not think to find any equal to Messalla with
 " regard to probity, uniformity of principles
 " and conduct, and a warm and firm attach-
 " ment to the Republick ; that eloquence, in
 " which he greatly excels, can scarce find a
 " place among such a multitude of extraordi-
 " nary talents which he possesses. Even in his
 " eloquence, wisdom shines forth and predo-
 " minates ; so much does solidity of judg-
 " ment, and the most extensive capacity guide
 " him in his studies, and direct him to the
 " purest and most refined taste. He has na-
 " turally a sublime turn of mind, but there is
 " joined with it an activity and assiduity which
 " seem to dispute with it the glory of his suc-
 " cesses." It was this young man so worthy
 of personal esteem, and besides honourable by
 his high birth, whom the Triumviri pro-
 scribed, under a false pretence that he was an
 accomplice in Cæsar's murder. But Messalla

* *Cave existimes, Brute, quanquam non est necesse ea me ad te quæ tibi nota sunt scribere : sed tamen tantam omnium laudum excellentiam non queo silentio præterire) cave putas, probitate, constantiâ, curâ, studio Reipublicæ quidquam illi simile esse : ut eloquentia, quâ mirabiliter excellit, vix in eo locum ad laudandum ha-* *bere videatur. Quanquam in hac ipsa sapientia plus apparet : ita gravi judicio multâque arte se exercuit in verissimo genere dicendi. Tanta autem industria est, tantumque evigilat in studio, ut non maxima ingenio, quod in eo sumnum est, gratia habenda videatur.* *Cic. ad Brut. i. 15.*

had

had nothing to fear from their cruel injustice, ^{A. R. 709.} because he was in the army of Brutus. ^{Ant. C. 43.} It was ^{Appian.} either upon this account, or shame, or the hopes of gaining him over to their party, that the Triumviri published a proclamation to the following effect: “As the relations of Messalla “ have certified to us, that he was not in Rome “ at the time that Cæsar was killed, we erase “ his name out of the list of the proscribed.” Messalla took no more notice of their pardon than he had done of their anger; and he remained to the end faithful to Brutus, for whom he had a respect and tenderness which nothing could efface.

I must beg leave to stop here, and refer to *Particular Appian* such of my readers who desire to know *observati-*
all the adventures of the proscribed. I shall ^{ons upon} only remark briefly, some singular instances ^{some of the} *proscribed*.
worthy to be remembered; and I shall men- ^{Plin. vii.} tion one Fidustius, who was formerly pro- ^{43.}
scribed by Sylla, and escaped death at that time, but unfortunately suffered under the Tri-
umviri, having been anew proscribed by them at the end of thirty years, only because he had been proscribed once before; one Nonius, who ^{Plin.} was proscribed on account of an opal which he ^{xxxvii. 6.} had of the bigness of a filbert, which he kept at the peril of his life, and of all that he pos-
sessed: in fine, a young child, named Atilius, ^{Appian.} whose riches having excited the avarice of the Dio.
Triumviri, they made him put on the Toga vi-
rilis, so that he might be reputed a man, and they proscribed him as such.

Thus avarice and cruelty united together to torment the unfortunate Romans, so that those might be reckoned happy who were permitted to ransom their lives by immense sums, which

A. R. -09. they gave to Antony and his wife. For Ful-
Ant. C 43. via made a considerable figure in this proscrip-
Fulvia *medio* *ix* *the pros-*
*scrip*tor**. *Val. Max.*
ix. 5. *Appian.* *Dio.* tion, and it is reported that the head of one of the sufferers having been brought to Antony, he said, “ I am not acquainted with that head ; but very likely it is an affair of my wife’s.” Which was really the case, for he was put into the fatal list by the orders of Fulvia, to whom he had refused to sell his house. And that nobody might doubt of the cause of his suffering, his head, instead of being carried to the Forum, like those of the others who were proscribed, was exposed on the very house which he would not part with.

It was chiefly upon Antony that the odium
of so many cruel indignities fell, so much the
more as he surpassed Octavius in age, and Le-
pidus in power ; and besides, he seemed to
Pict. Ant. Pique himself upon insulting the publick mis-
ries, by those excesses which he plunged himself
into at that very time. His house, which was
frequently shut to magistrates and military of-
ficers, who were rejected with ignominy, was
filled with buffoons and players, and wretched
flatterers, given up to the most shameful glut-
tony ; and he squandered away, amongst the
worst of mankind, that money which was the
price of the blood of the most illustrious citi-
zens.

The odious triumphs of Lepidus and Plancus. Lepidus and Plancus were willing to share with him the publick hatred by the triumph which they caused to be decreed to them in this conjuncture, for frivolous exploits which they pretended to have done in Gaul. They had the barbarous insolence, amidst so many subjects of mourning and tears, and while the streets of Rome were streaming with blood, to issue

issue a proclamation for publick rejoicings at their triumphs. They were Consuls elect, and triumphed the last days of the year, Plancus ^{A. R. 709.} ^{Ant. C. 43.} ^{Pigh. An-} the twenty-ninth, and Lepidus the thirty-first of December, both of them heartily cursed by the citizens. The soldiers too were of the same mind, and in following the chariot of the triumphers, they sung this verse, which has been preserved to us by Velleius: *De Germanis, non Vell. ii. 67. de Gallis, duo triumphant Consules.* “ It is not over the Gauls which the Consuls triumph, but over their brothers whom they have proscribed.” The Spirit of this Latin verse cannot be well translated into another language, because the word *Germani* is the Latin name for the people of Germany, and in that language signifies brothers.

The cruelties of triumviral Proscription *Refuges* were confined within the bounds of Italy. All ^{granted to} those who could escape from that unfortunate ^{the pro-} country, found protectors to relieve them. ^{of Italy,} ^{scribed out} ^{especially} ^{by Sextus} ^{Pompeius.} Brutus and Cassius, the one in Macedonia, the other in Asia, and Cornificius in Africa, saved a great number of them, but there was none more serviceable to them than Sextus Pompeius.

This only heir of so great and unfortunate a family, after having been condemned, as I said before, amongst the authors of Cæsar’s death, tho’ they could not even impute so much as a suspicion to him, was nevertheless put into the list of the proscribed. He had recourse to his sword to be revenged of these unjust and odious proceedings, and making use of the title of Commander-general of the seas, which had been given him at a time when the Senate had some influence in the Republick, he assembled together as many vessels as he could, and received,

A. R. 729. ceived, without distinction, all those who were
 Ann. C. 43. disposed to serve him. Pyrates, slaves, robbers and all were welcome to him. But besides these, there were men of a different stamp, inhabitants of the towns of Italy, who were to be sacrificed as a recompence to the Legions of the Triumviri, who flocked together to range themselves under him, whom they looked upon as their revenger, and augmented his forces. He soon found himself powerful enough not only to keep possession of the sea of Tuscany, to pillage, make incursions, and take vessels in the ports of Italy, but also to make himself master of a part of Sicily, forcing Pompeius Bithynicus, who was then Prætor of it, to let him share in the command.

All this was done during the course of the Proscription, and put him in a condition to afford the most favourable refuge for the proscribed, to which he applied himself with great zeal and generosity. He caused to be fixed up in Rome, and in all the great towns of Italy, placarts, by which he promised, to those who should save one of the proscribed, double the sum which the Triumviri gave for each head which was brought them. He station'd boats, barks, and ships of war along the coast, to give notice by signals to the unfortunate persons who hid themselves, and to receive all those who could get on board. Whenever any of the proscribed got to him, he received them graciously, furnished them with cloaths and all other necessaries, and to such as were capable, gave commissions in his legions, or on board the fleet. He kept his faith with them to the last, and never made any treaty with the Triumviri afterwards, wherein the safety of the

proscribed, who chose to return to their coun- A. R. 709.
try, was not stipulated. Ant. C. 43.

I have already observed, that the avarice of *Exactions* the Triumviri equalled their cruelty, and was *of the Tri-* even frequently the principal motive of it. The *umvirate*. immense sums which were produced from the confiscation of the goods of the proscribed, was not sufficient for them ; whether it was owing to their being as ill managed as they were acquired ; or whether it was, that the avarice of the soldiers was a vast gulf which nothing could fill up. As the troops were sensible that they were necessary to their generals, who stood indispensably in need of the force of arms, to keep possession of a power wholly founded on violence, and detested by all the citizens ; neither officers nor soldiers kept within any bounds, but gave a loose to their desires, and extravagant demands. They not only adjudged to themselves the greatest part of the spoils of the proscribed, but they plundered their houses, and rendered themselves by force the heirs of those who died a natural death. In short, their insolence was carried so far, that Atia, the mother of Octavius, dying at that time, there was one of the soldiers, who had the boldness to demand that he might succeed as her son. The Triumviri then were far from receiving as much as they expected from the sale of the goods of the proscribed ; and after this was over, they gave notice to the people, that they must still have eight hundred millions of sestertes to defray the expence of the war which they were going to undertake (six millions two hundred and sixty six thousand four pounds ster- ling.)

In

A. R. 709. In order to raise this sum, there was no extortion nor rapine which they did not put in practice. Taxes upon the rich, double duties of all kinds, taking away from the vestals treasures intrusted to their care, oppressions and chicanery used against the possessors of lands and houses, all was put in practice. Thus they amassed considerable sums, part of which they were obliged to give a share of to those whose assistance was absolutely necessary; so that there was an universal change made at that time in the fortunes of the Republick, and possessions passed from the hands of the rich to those who but a little before had no other fund or revenue but their swords.

A tax imposed by them on the ladies. One of the most singular expedients made use of by the Triumviri, in order to raise money, was a tax on the women. I mention it here because I chuse to join together every thing which regards the violence of the Triumviri, tho' probably enough this was not done till the year after. They made out a list then of fourteen hundred ladies of the best quality, and the richest in the city, whom they order'd to make a declaration of their estates, that they might be taxed with such sums as should be thought proper; and this under the penalty of confiscation to all who should refuse, or make fraudulent reports; and in order to discover the fraud, if any should be guilty of it, they promised a reward to such as should detect them.

The ladies were not wanting to themselves on this occasion. They had recourse to the protection of Octavia, the sister of young Cæsar, and to Julia the mother of Antony, of whom they received very obliging promises.

mises. But Fulvia, that haughty and arrogant woman, having rejected all their petitions with disdain, they were piqued at the affront, and went to the Forum to address the Triumviri themselves. A respect for their birth and rank having engaged the mob, and even the guards to separate and make room for them, they approached the tribunal, and Hortensia, the daughter of the orator Hortensius, spoke in the name of all the rest. This lady's speech is to be found in Appian, and it appears to me to be too well composed to suspect it, as having been done by that author. I shall therefore transcribe it as an original, and copy'd after the memoirs of the times.

“ We followed at first, said Hortensia, the *Hortensia's* laws of modesty which become us, in beginning by addressing ourselves to persons *of our own sex*, in order to obtain justice *by their means*. But having been treated by Fulvia with an indecent haughtiness, we find ourselves obliged to present our complaints immediately to you.”

“ You have taken from us our fathers, our children, our husbands and brothers, and if you take from us our goods, you reduce us to a situation which is neither suitable to our birth, our manner of living, nor to our sex. If you alledge that you have suffered an injury from our hands, proscribe us as you have done the men. But if even our weakness justifies us to you, if we have neither declared any of you enemies to the publick, nor corrupted the fidelity of the soldiers, nor sent armies against you, nor laid any difficulties in your way to those honours and offices which you

A. R. 7:9. " have been ambitious of possessing, why
 Ant. C. 43 " should we have any share in the punish-

" ment, when we had no part in the offence?
 " And why should we be loaded with taxes,
 " who neither dispute with you the power,
 " nor command of legions, nor any part of
 " publick authority, to invade which you
 " carry things to so great excess?

" But you tell us that you have a war to
 " support. And pray when has mankind
 " been free from war? And yet has any of
 " them thought of imposing a tax on the wo-
 " men upon that account? The universal con-
 " sent of nations has confirmed this exception,
 " which nature herself has granted us. Our
 " ancestors, it is true, in the extreme exigency
 " the Republick was in, when attacked by
 " Hannibal, contributed towards the expences
 " of the state; but they did it voluntarily.
 " That which they gave was not levied upon
 " their estates, their dowries, and houses,
 " resources without which free women can-
 " not live. They only appropriated to it the
 " ornaments of their persons. Nay further,
 " they were neither subject to any estimation,
 " nor informations of accusers. There was
 " neither force nor constraint, and they de-
 " termined freely, as well upon the quantity
 " of the contribution, as upon the thing
 " itself. What is then the danger which
 " you apprehend at present, with regard to
 " the country and the empire? In case there
 " was a war with the Gauls or Parthians, you
 " should find us ready to renew the example
 " of our ancestors. But as to civil wars, the
 " gods forbid that we should help you with
 " our contributions, or facilitate the means of
 " destroying

“ destroying one another. We were charged A. R. 709.
 “ with no taxes in the war between Cæsar Ant. C. 43.
 “ and Pompey, neither Cinna, nor Marius,
 “ nor even Sylla himself, that tyrant of the
 “ Republick, which you pretend to re-
 “ form, ever attempted to commit such a
 “ violence.”

This speech was too free and judicious not to displease the Triumviri. They were offended at the boldness of the weaker sex, while those men who were oppress'd durst neither raise their heads, nor open their mouths. They therefore wanted to cause the lictors to push back the ladies. But the whole crowd which filled the place, signifying by a shout that they disapproved of this violence, they put on a gentler tone, and promised to consider the affair again. Their moderation however did not go so far as to retract the injustice fully, it was a great deal for them to retrench the number, and tax only four hundred ladies instead of fourteen hundred.

I have said, according to Appian, that it had been regulated in the island of the Reno, that Octavius should yield the Consulship to Ventidius. He was a man worthy of the greatest honours, if the thing had been done in a more regular manner. His fortune was indeed very surprizing. I have mentioned elsewhere, that he had been led in triumph, when he was almost a child, in the Social war, by Pompeius Strabo. It is doubtless that great mortification which has given occasion to some to say, that he was of low birth; tho' probably he was the son of one of the chiefs of the allies which revolted against Rome. Being reduced to great misery he served at first as a private

Ventidius is made Consul. His surprizing fortune.
 Aul. Gel. XV. 4.
 Vol. IX. Book 31

A. R. 709. private soldier, and distinguished himself in
 Ant. C. 43. this lowest rank of the army. With a view of pushing his fortune, he undertook to furnish mules to carry the equipages of the camp, and he set out to follow this low business with Cæsar's army in Gaul. That great man, who had uncommon judgment and penetration in distinguishing merit, picked out Ventidius in that obscure station. He employ'd him in his army, and having been pleased with his service, when he became master of the Republick, he made him a Senator, then Tribune of the people, and at last designed him for Prætor for that year, the events of which I am now writing. Ventidius in his prætorship, shewed himself, as we have seen, attached to Antony, and served him with fidelity and courage. In recompence he was first honoured with the dignity of Pontiff, and very soon after, by the most singular distinction, and contrary to all rules, he was advanced to the rank of Consul, while he was actually invested with the charge of Prætor. His promotion to the Consulship, compared with his former condition, occasioned a great deal of murmurings; and we find in Aulus Gellius, verses upon this subject scattered among the publick. "Come hither, " says the poet, all you who are skilled in the "art of explaining prodigies. A very extraordinary one has just now happened. He "who dress'd mules, is become a Consul." This man, the object of the derision of low jesters, is nevertheless the only Roman, as we shall afterwards have occasion to relate, who,

• *Concurrite omnes augures, haruspices :
 Portentum inusitatum confitum est recens,
 Nam mulos qui fricabat, Consul factus est.*

till

till the time that Plutarch wrote, had triumphed over the Parthians. ^{A. R. 709.} ^{Ant. C. 43.} He only enjoyed the Consulship during a part of the month of December, together with C. Corinnas, formerly one of Cæsar's lieutenants in Spain, who was deputed in the room of Q. Pedius.

The Triumviri followed Cæsar's maxims ^{Appian.} in multiplying the nominations of offices, ^{Dio.} in order to reward a greater number of subjects. Thus the Prætorship of Ventidius, as soon as he became Consul, was given to one of the Ediles; and all the Prætors were obliged to lay down their offices five days before the end of the year, in order that others might be put in their places for this short time, and thereby enjoy both the title and rank of the antient Prætors.

The tyrannical government of the Triumviri ^{Civic} was the object of the publick hatred. But ^{crowns de-} they who detested it in private, adorned it in ^{creed to the} the Senate by honourary decrees, which fear alone extorted from them. They yielded to them all the honours formerly bestowed on the benefactors and saviours of the State; and particularly decreed them Civic crowns, which after all the blood they had shed in Rome and Italy, became only the monuments and reproaches of their cruelty.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, II.
L. MUNATIUS PLANCUS.

A. R. 710.
Ant. C. 42.

Lepidus, with the consent of his colleagues, had assumed the place of Consul, which D. Brutus, named by Cæsar, had left vacant by his death. Plancus too enjoyed the benefit of Cæsar's nomination. They both therefore took possession

112 ÆMILIUS II. and MUNATIUS Consuls.

A. R. 71^o. possession of the Consulship the first of January.
Ant. C. 42.

But there was no equality between the two Consuls, for the triumviral power gave Lepidus a superiority, which reduced Plancus to a dependence, that left him only the shadow of a Consulship ; and all the Consuls which followed, found themselves almost in the same case with Plancus. The last citizens who enjoyed, properly speaking, the Consular authority, were those of the preceding year, Hirtius and Pansa.

*The Tri-
umviri
swear to
observe the
acts of
Cæsar,
and make
others also
do the
same.*

The Triumviri were greatly interested to render respectable the memory of Cæsar, whose partizans and avengers they declared themselves to be, and to whose place each of them aspired. From this motive they renewed and confirmed all the honours which had been decreed to him, and besides added some new ones which I shall not trouble the reader with the disagreeable detail of. I shall only observe, that they introduced that year a custom which ever after continued. For, the first of January, they swore to observe the acts of Cæsar, and made others do the like. According to this example every year on the same day, as long as the form of government established by Augustus subsisted, they renewed this oath in the name of the reigning Emperor, and of all his predecessors, excepting those who had been disgraced by a decree of the Senate.

*They ap-
point Ma-
gistrates
for several
years.*

All the precautions which Cæsar had taken to establish his power, served as rules and models for the Triumviri. Thus in imitation of him they appointed magistrates for several years ; by which means they made themselves new creatures, and confirmed their power by establishing

establishing for a long time all the branches of authority in the hands of those who were attached to them.

But the chief affair which employed them was the war against Brutus and Cassius, whose forces gave them, very justly, great disquiet. I have already related the first and rapid increase of the party of these two irreconcileable enemies to tyranny. They became still stronger, and performed a great many remarkable things during the last months of the preceding year, and the first months of that we are now entered upon; for which reason we must now give an account of them.

§. II.

Brutus enters Thrace, and there makes war successfully. Money coined by his order. He passes over into Asia, equips a fleet, and acquaints Cassius with it. Brutus and Cassius re-join at Smyrna. They act together in a perfect good understanding. Cassius subjects the Rhodians. He uses them roughly. Brutus carries the war into Lycia. His gentleness. The rage of the Xanthians. Brutus and Cassius meet at Sardes. A very warm debate between them. Favonius diverts them from it. The conduct and views of Cassius were less pure than those of Brutus. A pretended apparition discovered to Brutus. Octavius and Antony cross the sea, and enter Macedonia with their troops. Brutus and Cassius being arrived at Sestos, they review their army. The magnificent appearance of that army. Money distributed to the soldiers. Brutus and Cassius advance beyond Philippi. A description of the country about

the city of Philippi. The encampment of Brutus and Cassius. Antony, and afterwards Octavius, arrives opposite to them, and encamps at a small distance. The disadvantage of their situation. The first battle of Philippi. Brutus is conqueror: Cassius is defeated. Cassius through precipitate despair kills himself. The death of Cassius gives a superiority to the Triumviri. Octavius, who was ill, had but little share in the action. Brutus re-animates the courage of Cassius's soldiers. The embarrassment of his situation. The fleet which he had in the Ionian sea destroys a powerful reinforcement which was sent to the Triumviri. He is not informed of that important event. A reflection of Plutarch on this subject. The second battle of Philippi. The death of Cato's son. Brutus runs a risk of being taken, and only avoids that misfortune by the generosity of a friend. The last moments of Brutus. His blasphemy against virtue. His death. Antony causes the last honours to be paid to his body. Octavius sends his head to Rome. The death of Portia, the wife of Brutus. The names of the most illustrious persons who were slain at Philippi. Livius Drusus, the father of Livia, kills himself. The cruelty of Octavius. The republican party perishes with Brutus. The remains of the vanquished army surrender themselves to the Triumviri. A fine expression of Messalla to Octavius. The reunion of all the naval forces of the vanquished party. Murcus conveys part of them to Sextus Pompeius, and Domitius with the other keeps the sea for some time without acknowledging any chief. An allegory of Horace, with regard to the last troubles of the republicans. That poet having

having escaped from the battle of Philippi, finds ^{A. R. 710.} a resource in his genius for poetry. ^{Ant. C. 42.}

BRUTUS not being able to put himself in *Brutus enters Thrace and there makes war su: c /sfully.* a condition to pass speedily enough into Italy, to defend it against the Triumviri, prepared himself to receive them. He embraced an opportunity, which presented itself, of leading his army into Thrace, to which he was prompted by the double advantage of exercising his troops by fighting against a warlike nation, and having an opportunity of acquiring to himself the title of *Imperator*, an honour which was by no means useless to him in his present situation. He entered therefore into Thrace, to put himself in possession of a province where Sadales reigned, who when he was dying bequeathed it to the Romans. Besides as the Bessi, a very fierce nation, incommoded their neighbours, by incursions and robberies, he proposed to suppress them ; and assisted by one of the kings of Thrace, call'd Rhescuporis, tho' at first he suffered a check, yet he terminated afterwards these two enterprises to his honour.

Besides Thrace furnished him with money, of which he stood greatly in need. For his character of gentleness, clemency, and generosity prevented, or at least rendered less successful, many of the means of furnishing his military chest ; which being only to be executed by the force of arms, are no less hard and tyrannical in themselves, than war itself. It was therefore extremely fortunate for him, that a princess, named Polemocratia, whose husband, who reigned over part of Thrace, had been assassinated by an opposite faction, came to take

A. R. 710. refuge in the Roman camp, with her son, who
 Ant. C. 42. was very young, and all her treasures. Brutus
 sent the young prince to Cyzica, to be educated
 there in a manner becoming his birth, and
 converted into money the treasures of Polemo-
 cratia. He wanted that this money should be
 a monument of an action, which he looked
 upon as the best he had ever done. It bore
 on one side the image of Brutus, and on the
 other a cap, the symbol of liberty, between two
 poinards; and upon the exergue was stamped
 the ides of March, the day on which Cæsar
 was killed. There are some of these pieces
 still preserved in the cabinets of the curious.

*He passes
 over into
 Asia.*
*equips a
 fleet, and
 acquires
 Cæsars
 wealth.*
Pl. Brut.

Brutus having caused his army to pass into Asia, took care to equip a powerful fleet in the ports of Bithynia and Cyzica; and while they were employed about this, he travelled over the country, giving orders to princes, and deputies of towns, gaining all their hearts, and establishing over all, with peace and tranquillity, the love of his government. In the mean time he wrote to Cassius, who, after having established his authority over all Syria and Cilicia, and demanded of those towns which resisted him, and particularly that of Tarsus, enormous contributions, was preparing to go into Egypt to punish Cleopatra for the assistance which she had given to Dollabella. Brutus diverted him from this design, by representing to him, that they had not proposed to acquire a power for their own conveniency; but that it was to deliver their country from tyrants who oppressed it, that they assembled their forces from all quarters. That therefore if they intended to be faithful to their plan, and not lose the object in view, they ought not to remove

move themselves further from Italy, but, on the contrary, to make haste to supply their fellow citizens with the succours which they stood in need of.

A. R. 710.
Ant. C. 42.

Cassius yielded to these remonstrances, and began his march to approach towards Brutus. It was at Smyrna that they first saw one another again after their parting at the port of Piræus, the one turning towards Syria, and the other towards Macedonia. The sight of the forces, with which they were attended, caused a reciprocal joy in both, and a surprising confidence. In short, having quitted Italy, like unfortunate exiles, without having one single vessel of war, one soldier, or town under their command, after a short interval they met again, well furnished with infantry, cavalry, money, and in a condition of supporting a contest, where the fate of the Roman empire was the subject.

Brutus and Cassius re-join at Smyrna.

They strove which of them should behave *They act* with most politeness to the other. Cassius *together in* contented himself with an equality ; but Brutus *a perfect* yielded to him the honours, and went *good under-* most frequently to visit him, because Cassius *standing.* was older, and in a more infirm state of health.

They concerted the plan of their operations ; and as the Lycians and the Rhodians had obstinately refused to grant them any assistance, they resolved to begin by reducing these two nations, in order that they might leave nothing undone behind them, while they were engaged against the Triumviri. Brutus charged himself with the Lycians, and Cassius with the Rhodians.

A. R. 710. Their mutual good understanding continued
Ant. C. 42. firm even with regard to the money, which
occasions so many disputes amongst mankind. Brutus alledged, that having employed towards
the equipment of a fleet, for the defence of the
common cause, all the money which he was
able to amass, he had a right to demand of
Cassius a part of his. But the friends of Cassius
maintain'd, on the other hand, that it was not
reasonable that those sums which had been
raised by very troublesome means, and ma-
naged with œconomy, should be divided with
Brutus, who would gain to himself all the
honour of them, by means of ill placed and
extravagant bounties. But Cassius was more
equitable than his friends, and yielded to Bru-
tus the third of his treasure.

D. 1 They further agreed perfectly well in an
XLVII. act of clemency towards a very unworthy ob-
ject. Gallius Poplicola the brother of Messalla,
but very different from him, having formed
the horrid design of assassinating Brutus, had
obtained pardon in consideration of his brother.
Some time after he renewed the same attempt
against Cassius, and was convicted of it by the
testimony of Polla his mother, who being wil-
ling to save Cassius, and obtain pardon for her
son, thought the best means of succeeding was
to discover the criminal herself. Brutus and
Caius were so good as to pardon him. But
bad hearts are not to be worked upon by acts
of indulgence and generosity; for Gellius, the
very first opportunity, betrayed his chiefs to
whom he was so much obliged, and went over
to the enemy's camp.

After some stay at Smyrna the two generals
departed for the two expeditions which they
had

had projected. Cassius, to whose lot the carrying on the war against the Rhodians fell, knowing that he had to do with a courageous people and remarkably strong at sea, he caused both his land and sea forces to be put in motion at the same time. Their rendezvous was at the town of Myndus in Caria.

A. R. 710.
Ant. C. 42.

*Cassius
subjects the
Rhodians.*

Appian.
Dio.

Plut. Brut.

There was a party at Rhodes which wanted them to submit to Cassius. But the most sensible party is too commonly the most feeble. The body of the people, animated by some rash and factious persons, wanted to make resistance, and did not doubt of success. The glory of their ancestors assured them of it, and they called to mind with pleasure Demetrius and Mithridates, princes a great deal more powerful than Cassius, who were obliged to withdraw shamefully from before Rhodes. Since the battle of Pharsalia the Rhodians had actually turned their backs upon that party, which stood up for the liberty of the ancient government in Rome. They shut their gates against Pompey in his flight. After the death of Cæsar, they attached themselves to Dollabella, and refused their assistance to all those who made war against him. Unluckily for the town they persisted in the same plan when Cassius approached; and instead of promising him full satisfaction, they insultingly proposed to him to wait for the orders of the Senate, which was then sitting at Rome, thereby meaning the orders of the Triumviri.

One may easily judge in what manner Cassius, one of the most passionate of all mankind, received this insulting message. He only answered it with menaces, and threatenings, with which the Rhodians were not so much affected

A. R. 710. as they ought to have been. They made but
 Ant. C. 42. one attempt to soften him, by sending to him Archelaus, their fellow citizen, who had instructed him in the Greek ; for in Rhodes there was a school for all the sciences, and there Cassius had been instructed during his youth. Archelaus acquitted himself of his commission in the most tender and pathetick manner ; but Cassius content to have shown a great deal of friendship to his old master, remained inexorable with regard to the principal point.

There was then a necessity of coming to blows, and the Rhodians were rash enough to risk a naval engagement. Dio reports, that they carried their insolence so far, as to display to the eyes of the Romans, the chains which they had prepared for them. But this excess of folly and blindness does not appear probable. It is certain however that after they were twice vanquished they were still so obstinate as to let the Roman troops approach, and allow themselves to be besieged both by sea and land. Nevertheless at that time, those who were desirous of peace took upon them, and began to negotiate with Fannius and Lentulus, who commanded the siege by land. But while they were debating, Cassius, who went on board the fleet himself, and governed the attack on the side of the port, appeared all at once in the middle of the town, with a number of chosen men, without having either made a breach in the walls or scaled them. The posterns on th. side of the sea had been open to them by some of the most sensible men of Rhodes, who fearing to see their town taken by assault, thought they could not be too speedy in preventing so great a mischief.

An expression of Cassius seemed at first to promise moderation ; for when a great many saluted him by the names of master and king, he quite rejected those titles, saying that his greatest glory was to have killed him who dared to make himself master and king in Rome. But the rest of his conduct did not answer to this beginning. He caused a tribunal to be erected in the middle of the Forum, and fixed at the side of it a halberd, as a sign that he proposed to treat Rhodes as a town taken by force. He condemned to death, and caused to be executed in his presence fifty of the principal authors of the rebellion, and pronounced the sentence of banishment on twenty five others, who had fled or absconded. It is true that he assured the rest of the inhabitants of their lives and liberties, having forbid his troops, on pain of death, to exercise any violence against their persons. He further forbid them to pillage, but this was only with design to plunder it himself ; for it was one of the richest cities of all Asia. Accordingly he took possession of all the treasure, and every thing of value, which belonged to the publick, without sparing either the offerings consecrated in the temples, or even the statues of the Gods. And when the Rhodians prayed him to leave them at least one of their divinities, he answered them that he would leave them the Sun. In effect he neither touched the image nor the chariot of that God, who was particularly honour'd at Rhodes. But without doubt he played upon the ambiguity of the word, which might signify that he would only leave them the enjoyment of the light. And by a third sense, which super-

A. R. 710.
Ant. C. 42.

He treats them roughly.

I. 5.

A. R. 71^c. Stitious antiquity has put upon it, they have
A. R. C. 4^a. imagined, seeing he was reduced to kill himself a few months after at Philippi, that by speaking in this manner he had foretold his own death, so nigh at hand.

Cassius likewise published an order to oblige every one to bring to him all the gold and money which was in their houses, threatening with death all who should disobey, and promising rewards to such as should discover them. The Rhodians were not much afraid at first, and such as could conceal their treasures thought they ran no great risk. But when they saw, by some examples, that the order was executed rigorously, they found they must obey: and Cassius having taken out of Rhodes, by different ways, eight thousand talents, imposed eight hundred more upon the Forum by way of fine. All the people of Asia, though peaceable and submissive, experienced in the same manner the severe usage of Cassius. He demanded that they should pay him immediately ten years tribute; but Octavius and Antony did not allow him time to push this to the extremity.

B. 22^a Brutus, tho' infinitely more gentle than Cassius, occasioned nevertheless greater mischiefs *near into Lycia. His gentleness.* to those enemies which he had to engage; but it was owing to their own fault, and the effect of their blind fury. The Lycians, animated by one named Naucrates, refused to furnish troops or money, and marched up armed upon some eminencies which defended the entrance into their country. Brutus having observed the time when going to their repast, they were less upon their guard, attacked them, killed six hundred of them, and forced the *pages*

villages. Afterwards, whenever he took any of their towns or villages, he set at liberty those who fell into his hands, being desirous, by this good usage, to gain the hearts of the nation. But the Lycians were fierce and haughty, they were provoked at their losses, and despised the clemency of the vanquisher.

The bravest of them shut themselves up in the city of Xanthus, and Brutus was obliged to besiege them there in form. He soon reduced them to despair of safety but by flight, and a great many saved themselves by the river which ran by the walls, swimming below the water. But the Romans deprived them of this resource, by stretching out nets on the tops, of which were fastened little bells, which gave them notice whenever any of them were entangled.

An attempt which the Xanthians made to burn the machines of the besiegers, and which succeeded at first, was the cause of their loss. For the flame of the machines being driven towards the town by a violent wind, communicated itself to the fortifications and the neighbouring houses ; so that in an instant the conflagration became very considerable. The Xanthians had been driven back, and the Romans pursued them, but Brutus, instead of laying hold on this opportunity of carrying the place, was fully employed in preserving it, and ordered the soldiers to endeavour to extinguish the fire. The rage which seized the Xanthians on this occasion, is inconceivable. Far from thinking themselves obliged to their generous enemy for the efforts which he made to save them, they resolved to perish in spite of him. All, both freemen and slaves, women and children,

A. R. 709.
Ant. C. 43.

A. R. 709. dren, mounted the walls, and threw darts against
A. R. C. 43 the Romans, who were striving to assist them. And instead of extinguishing, they augmented the fire, and made it spread more and more towards the city, by throwing into it wood, dry reeds, and all kinds of fuel.

When Brutus saw that the flame increased incessantly, and formed a circle round the town, he was overwhelmed with grief. He rode about the fortifications, trying all the means he could think of to succour them ; and stretching out his hands to the Xanthians, he conjured them to have pity on themselves, and allow him to save them together with their country. But nobody gave ear to him. Furious and desperate they put themselves to death all manner of ways. And not only the men and women who were grown up, were transported with this blind madness, but the very children, with distracted cries leaped into the middle of the flames, or threw themselves headlong from the walls upon the pavement ; while others presented their throats to their fathers swords, beseeching them to kill them. In examining the ruins of this unfortunate town, they discovered a woman hanging in a cord, with which she had been strangled, having a young child dead at her breast, and still holding in her hand a lighted torch to set fire to her house. This horrid spectacle made those who were witnesses of it tremble. They mentioned it to Brutus, who would not go to see so melancholy an object ; but melting into tears, he promised a reward to every soldier who should bring him a Lycian alive ; and they say that the number of those whom it was possible to save

Save from their own rage, amounted to no ^{A. R. 710.}
more than one hundred and fifty. ^{Ant. C. 42.}

This is the second time that the town of Herodot. Xanthus perished, in this manner, by the fury of its inhabitants. In the time of Cyrus, the Xanthians being attacked by Harpagus, that prince's lieutenant, they chose rather to burn their wives and children, whom they shut up in the citadel, and expose themselves all to death in a general sally, than submit to a conqueror whom all the East obeyed.

It appears that the Lycians were a very fierce nation, for the disaster of the Xanthians, and the humanity of their conqueror, made at first no impression on their neighbours of Patara. They prepared to defend themselves, and Brutus, with great reluctance determined to attack them, for fear of renewing the tragic scene. Nevertheless he invested the town, but without battering the walls. Being resolved to try every thing in order to gain them, he detached to them some of the Xanthian prisoners, whose infatuation and madness had blinded their reason. He also sent back to them some ladies of Patara who had been taken at Xanthus, and whose fathers and husbands bore a distinguished rank in the country. And these ladies, by the gentle insinuations, and the praises which they bestowed on the wisdom and generosity of Brutus, at last overcame the obstinacy of the Patarians, and they surrendered at discretion.

Brutus granted to all their lives and liberties, but he took possession of all the money belonging to the publick, and published with regard to the inhabitants, an order like that of Cassius, threatening with death those who should conceal

A. R. 710. **Ast. C. 42.** seal their riches, and encouraging informers with the promise of rewards. This rigour was too contrary to Brutus's character for him ever to design to go through with it, or indeed to be capable of it, and this appeared on a very remarkable occasion. A slave accused his master of having concealed his treasure, which was indeed very true. They were both brought before Brutus; and while they went along, the mother of the accused, trembling for her son, followed, crying aloud, that she alone was blameable for the disobedience to the orders of the Pro-consul, and that her son had no share in it. The slave believed he should make his court to Brutus, and be sure of the reward, by insisting strongly to prove the mother's falsehood, and fully to convict his master, who, during this dispute, kept a profound silence. Brutus, as well shocked at the insolence of the informer, as admiring the patience of the son, and the good heart of the mother, treated them all according to their deserts. He sent back the mother and son with the treasure, and caused the slave to be crucified.

The town of Myra having also submitted voluntarily, and Brutus having become master of all Lycia, contented himself with taxing the nation at one hundred and twenty talents; after which he returned towards Ionia, signalizing his march with divers marks of justice, always unbiased, and always impartial in the distribution of rewards and punishments. But that which he most approved himself, and which gained him the most honour among all the Romans of worth and character, was, the revenge he took upon that wretched orator

Theodotus, who had proscribed the head of Pompey. But I have mentioned this elsewhere.

Brutus and Cassius joined again at Sardis in Lydia, and their armies being re-united, proclaimed each of them solemnly, by the title of Imperator or General-conqueror. At their first interview, like great men who feared no censure, they wanted to have a conversation together, concerning reciprocal complaints which had been made of both. They debated a long while, and it could not otherwise happen, considering the importance and multiplicity of the affairs which they governed, and the great number of friends and commanders who acted under their orders. They shut themselves up therefore together in the first convenient house, and made their slaves guard the door, with express orders not to admit any body in to them.

The debate was very warm. After having laid open their grievances, they entered upon proofs of them, and reproached one another. They burst out into tears, and the tone of their voices became more high and harsh, so that their friends who were standing without the door, heard the noise, and began to be alarmed, not knowing where all this passion might end. In the mean time none of them durst venture to go in, on account of the orders given to the contrary. Favonius alone, an impertinent imitator of Cato, whom I have mentioned before more than once, attempted to enter. The slaves at first would not admit him, but it was no easy matter to curb Favonius in a thing he was resolved upon. He valued himself upon a cynical boldness, which knew no restraint; and his fallies, tho' impertinent, were sometimes well received, because they made people laugh.

He

A. R. 710.
Ant. C. 42.

Brutus and Cassius meet at Sardis. A very warm debate between them. Favonius diverts

A. R. 710. *Ant. C. 42.* He then forced the passage, and with a theatrical tone of voice, address'd Brutus and Cassius in these words, which Homer puts into the mouth of Nestor, exhorting to peace Agamemnon and Achilles : “ Yield ² to my advice ; “ you are both younger than I.” Cassius, who was naturally lively, could not forbear laughing ; but Brutus, who was more serious, was angry, and drove away Favonius, calling him an impudent Cynic. This adventure, however, put an end to the debate between Brutus and Cassius, and they parted on good terms.

Cassius that night made a great entertainment, and Brutus invited his friends to it. After they were sat down to table, Favonius came in from bathing. Brutus's passion was not yet over ; he declared before all the company that Favonius came without being invited, and desired he should be put down to the lowest couch. But the cynical Senator, came and placed himself forcibly in the middle of the most honourable couch. The entertainment was accompanied with a great deal of gaiety ; the freedom and chearfulness of the conversation seasoned the repast, without interrupting the philosophical reflections, to which the Romans of distinction had a particular turn.

The conduct and views of Cassius were less pure than those of Brutus. Next morning Brutus mortified Cassius by a condemnation he pronounced against a man of rank, who had been Prætor at Rome, and afterwards honoured by Brutus himself with divers offices of trust. Plutarch calls him L. Pella, and says, that having been accused and convicted of extortion by the people of Sardis,

* Ἀλλὰ τις οὐδὲν ἀμφῶ δὲ μωτέρω εἰς ἐμέ. *Il. l. I.*
v. 259.

he was condemned without mercy. Cassius, a few days before, had observed a different conduct with regard to two of his friends, who being accused before him for the same crime, absolved them with a private reprimand, and kept him afterwards about his person. He acted thus out of principle, and even reproached Brutus with too great attachment to rules, at a time which demanded caution, allowances, and indulgence. But Brutus, * who was always full of great maxims, referred him to the Ides of March, that famous day on which they had killed Cæsar, who did not extort upon mankind himself, but was a protector and encourager of publick robbers. “ If, says he, there is any lawful pretence for neglecting exact justice, it were better for us to support the friends of Cæsar, than to shut our eyes against the villainies committed by our own people. In the first case we could only be accused of timidity ; but here, with a thousand troubles and dangers, we purchase the reproach of injustice.”

This instance, joined to what we have formerly mentioned, discovers that the virtue of Brutus was much more pure than that of Cassius. This last, doubtless, deserved to be esteemed for his great qualities ; but his passion was dreadful, and his command harsh. On the contrary, towards his friends he shewed himself gentle and indulgent, even so far as to sa-

* Ο δὲ τῶν ἐιδῶν τῶν Μαρτίων ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν μηδεποτένειν ἐκείνων, ἵνα αἱς Καίσαρες ἔχειναν, οὐκ ἀντὸν αἴγοιλα καὶ Φέροιλα πάντας αὐθρώπους, ἀλλ' ἐτέρων δύναμιν ὄντα ταῦτα πρασσόντων. ὡς ἔι τις ἐγένετο πρόφασις

καλὴ μετ' ἣς ἀμελεῖται τὸ δίκαιον, ἀμεινον ἢν τὰς Καίσαρός φίλας ὑπομένειν. ἐκείνων μὲν γάρ αναδρέιας, νῦν δὲ ἀδικίας δόξα μετὰ κινδύνων ἡμῖν καὶ πόνων πρόσειται.

A. R. 7¹⁰. Ant. C. 4². crifice in their favour the rights of justice. He was by no means an enemy to pleasure, and in private company his morality was not quite sincere. But the conduct of Brutus was always perfectly steady. An unalterable gentleness, a noble elevation of sentiments, a strength of mind over which neither passion, pleasure, nor envy could have any influence, and an inflexible firmness in the defence of justice and honesty, composed the character of that great man. In consequence of these qualities he was beloved of his people and troops, doated upon by his friends, admired by good men, and even not hated by those who made war against him.

The perfect confidence which they had in the justness of his views, was chiefly what gained him that universal affection and veneration. This is a glory which is proper to him, and distinguishes him from all the other heads of parties, in the several wars among the Romans. For it is not thought that Pompey would ever have been disposed to have restored to the laws the sovereign power, in case he had vanquished Cæsar. It is generally believed that he would have kept himself at the head of the government, under the name of Consul and Dictator, or some other title of magistracy, which would have masked his ambition, and amused the vulgar. A great many imagine that Cassius had a design of the same nature ; and altho' his aversion for tyranny cannot be disputed, yet it is hard to be believed, that so proud a man as he was, full of haughty courage, and frequently preferring the useful to the just, should be free of all desire of power, should enter upon a war, lead a wandering life, and expose himself.

A. R. 710.
Ant. C. 42.

self to a thousand dangers, only to re-establish the Citizens in the enjoyment of their liberties. If we mount still higher, Marius, Cinna, and Carbonius, certainly did not defend their country ; they looked upon it rather as a prize, or a prey, which they wanted to seize upon, and almost owned themselves, that tyranny was the object of their wishes. But Brutus is freely absolved from all suspicions of this kind ; even his enemies did him justice with regard to this point, and Antony was heard to say more than once, that he thought Brutus was the only person, who in conspiring against Cæsar, had only regarded the glory of an enterprize, which to him appeared to be good and highly commendable ; but that the rest were influenced by hatred and envy.

The conduct of Brutus being so pure and elevated, it is not surprising that his language should be lofty. When he saw himself near the crisis, which was to determine his fate, he wrote to Atticus, that his fortune was as happy as he could wish it. “ For, said he, either by gaining the victory, I shall restore liberty to the Romans, or by dying, I shall be delivered from slavery myself. Thus I run no great risk, my condition is fixed, and the only uncertainty that remains, is to know whether I shall live free, or carry my liberty with me to the grave. It is Marc Antony, added he, who henceforward must suffer for his folly. He might have been put in the rank with Brutus, Cassius, and Cato ; but he chose rather to put himself in the second rank to Octavius, with whom he will soon be obliged to fight himself, unless he happens to be overcome by us.” These last words were a

A. R. 709. kind of gentle rebuke, which Brutus gave to
Ant. C. 43. Atticus, on account of his connexions and friendship with Antony, and they contained a prediction which was verified in the event. Plutarch observes, upon the first part of this fragment, that it is easy to see, that Brutus confided chiefly in his virtue, and not in his sea or land forces, how great soever they were. But it will appear at his death, as I have already hinted, that the hopes of success added greatly to his firmness.

*A pretend-
ed appar-
ition dis-
covered to
Brutus.* Brutus and Cassius having happily and speedily finished what they had to do in Asia, thought next of passing into Europe, in order to meet the Triumviri, who prepared to attack them. It was about this time that Plutarch mentions a pretended apparition, which shewed itself, as is said, to Brutus. This story is related so seriously by that great historian, and is become so famous, that I cannot allow myself to pass it over in silence.

I have already mentioned Brutus's watchings. He naturally slept but very little, and he had increased by habit this natural disposition, which was greatly assisted by his great sobriety. He never allowed himself to sleep in the daytime, and he allotted only that part of the night for it when no business can be done, nor any person treated with, because all the world is at rest. But especially in the time of which we are now speaking, when a load of such important cares oppressed him, and inevitable inquietude in so remarkable a crisis disturbed his brain, when he had slept a few moments after his evening repast, which was the only one he made, he set about regulating his necessary affairs; and he employed the remaining

maining time in reading 'till the third watch, ^{A. R. 710.} which was the hour when the general officers ^{Ant. C. 42.} went to the tent to receive his orders.

Plutarch then relates, that in the middle of the night, when the whole camp was perfectly quiet; Brutus was busy, according to custom, alone in his tent, which was but indifferently lighted. On a sudden he thought he heard a noise as if some body entered, and looking to the door of the tent, he perceived a gigantick body, with a frightful aspect, place itself before him, without pronouncing one single word. He had the courage to ask it, “ Who of men “ or of the gods art thou? and who hath “ brought thee hither?” “ Brutus, answered the phantom, “ I am thy evil genius, thou “ shalt see me again near Philippi. Very well, “ replied Brutus without being discomposed, “ we shall see each other again.” The phantom disapeared; and Brutus called his servants, who told him they had neither seen nor heard any thing. He again applied himself to his business, but being struck with so strange a vision, he mentioned it next day to Cassius, who being an Epicurean, and consequently neither believing a spirit distinguished from matter, nor providence, attributed all that happened to a fall of imagination, overheated by continual application and disquietude. “ For, said he, “ there is no probability that there are genii; “ nor, supposing them to exist, that they “ have the human form or voice, or any “ power to act upon us. And indeed I should “ be very glad if they did really exist, in or- “ der that we might reckon not only upon “ our armies and our fleets, but further upon “ the assistance of the gods themselves, who

K 3 “ could

A. R. 410. " could not be wanting in an enterprize so
 Ant. E. 42. " just, honourable and sacred, as that of
 " which we are the chiefs."

Flor. IV.
 7.

Val. Max.
 I. 7.

'Tis thus that Plutarch relates the story ; and that nothing might be wanting, the spectre comes faithfully to the rendezvouz, and shews itself again to Brutus the day before his death ; but without speaking. Appian's account is conformed to Plutarch's, and that of Florus preceded them both. But these authorities, which doubtless are sufficient to give credit to an event in the order of nature, are not, in my opinion, strong enough to support such an absurd prodigy. None of these writers quotes so much as one single co-temporary witness ; none of them mentions it as being received from Brutus, or from any one to whom he had discovered it. Besides I find the same story repeated, with almost the same circumstances, by Valerius Maximus, who relates it of Cassius of Parma. In fine, what makes me reject the testimony of these authors in this affair without any scruple, is the credulity which is common to them, with the most part of the ancients, with regard to prodigies. They relate, for example, with the greatest assurance, that two eagles lighted upon the two principal standards of the two legions of Brutus and Cassius ; that they accompanied the army in its march till the night before the battle of Philippi, and then flew away. This story, certainly, is not very probable ; but suppose it was true, what conclusion could be drawn from it ? or what should render it worthy to be mentioned in history ? Besides they relate as miraculous presages, the most simple things in the world, such as the want of

of address or attention in a person who presented a crown to Cassius reversed, instead of placing it right upon his head. Writers so very superstitious, may very well be suspected to have received, without examining, this strange account, which had no other foundation than the popular tradition.

Brutus and Cassius passed from Asia into *Octavius* Europe without any obstacle. *Octavius and An-* Antony were still in Italy, and two of their lieutenants, Norbanus and Decidius *Saxa*, whom they had sent before them with eight legions, *crossed the sea, and enter Macedonia* marched thro' Epirus and Macedonia. These *with their* two officers of the Triumviri march'd with *troops*. their troops beyond Philippi, and encamped at the entry of a pass formed by two mountains, which left only a very narrow space betwixt them, being the only commodious passage from Chersonesus of Thrace into Macedonia. They had then behind them Philippi, and upon the right, towards the sea, Neapolis, a sea-port situated over against the island of Thasos. There they expected their generals, who were not a little embarrass'd to pass from Brundusium into Epirus.

For as the chiefs of the Republican party had powerful naval forces, Statius Murcus was detached by Cælius at the head of sixty sail, after staying some time before the Promontory of * Tenarus, to hinder and dispute the passage of the Egyptian fleet, which Cleopatra sent to assist the Triumviri; as soon as he knew that that fleet was destroyed, he came ^{* Cape} *Matapan, in the middle of the Morn.* to post himself before the port of Brundusium, in order to prevent any from going out. Besides Sextus Pompeius being master of great part of Sicily, as I said before, was a thorn

A. R. 710 which they would have been very glad to pull out, before they embarked on their great enterprize. He distressed Rome and Italy by famine, seizing all the provisions which were sent to them by sea, and had it likewise in his power to hinder provisions and ammunition from arriving to them, when they should get into Macedonia. For these reasons, and as besides they did not think it difficult to reduce an enemy who was, properly speaking, no more than a pyrate, while Antony was using means in Brundusium to transport the troops into Epirus, Octavius sent Salvidienus, with all the vessels he had against Sextus Pompeius, and transported himself to Reggio, to animate the war by his presence.

This was not so easily done as the Triumviri had imagined. Sextus had made good use of the time, when he was allowed to remain quiet, in acquiring considerable maritime forces. Only at the approach of Salvidienus, he left off infesting the coast of Italy, and contented himself with defending Sicily. Octavius was so ill provided with vessels, that his lieutenant try'd to build, in imitation of what he had seen practised in Gaul, small barks of a light wood, covered with cow hides. But these little vessels were not proper to sustain the violence of the waves in the Streights of Sicily, and only occasion'd diversion to the enemy. Octavius, however, took with him a fleet, and they had a naval engagement near the

* Sciglio. rock of * Scylla, in which Sextus had the better. Octavius, not succeeding by force, had recourse to stratagem, and sought an opportunity of transporting his troops by stealth, not doubting but if he could once land his

his legions in Sicily, their valour and ex- A. R. 71c.
perience would assure him of the victory. Ant. C. 42.

But all was to no purpose; the coasts were too well guarded; and as Antony, who, in the mean time, found himself greatly distressed by Murcus in Brundusium, demanded, in the most pressing manner, the succours and conjunction of his colleague, he was obliged to drop his design of pushing Sextus. Wherefore leaving only as many troops behind them as was necessary to defend the coast of Italy, he went to join Antony with the rest of his forces. When he took his leave, he promised to those of Reggio and Vibo, that he would blot out their towns from the number of those who were to be given, together with their territories, as a reward to the soldiers. The motive of this promise, was the fear he was in left these two towns, so very near Sicily, should deliver themselves to Sextus, to prevent the misfortunes with which they were threatened.

The arrival of Octavius's fleet at Brundusium, soon changed the situation of affairs. Murcus thought it most advisable to take the sea, and even to approach the coasts of Epirus, continuing however always to watch the troops of the Triumviri in their passage. But whether it was owing to want of capacity or attention on his part, or particular circumstances of winds or tides favourable to the Triumviri, all their troops and themselves were happily transported at divers voyages. Octavius was ill, and he was obliged to remain at Dyrrachium, while Antony advanced as fast as possible to join Norbanus and Saxa. Murcus confounded and despairing at the bad

success

A. R. 710. success of his undertaking, continued always
Ast. C. 48. cruising on the same seas, to hinder the con-
voys they might attempt to send from Italy
to Macedonia, and he was assisted in this im-
portant operation by Domitius Ahenobarbus,
whom Cassius sent to him with a fleet of fifty
vessels.

*Brutus
and Cas-
sius being
arrived at
Cestos, re-
view their
troops.*

Antony however did not find Norbanus and Saxa in possession of the pass, which I mentioned before, on the other side of Philippi. They had been obliged to abandon it, and retreat as far as Amphipolis; for Brutus and Cassius had lost no time. Being arrived at Cestos, after they had marched thro' Chersoneus, they review'd their army, and found it to consist of one and twenty legions, not quite complete, but nevertheless amounting to the number of fourscore thousand fighting men. They had besides twenty thousand auxiliary cavalry of all nations; Gauls, Spaniards, Medes, Parthians, Arabians, Galatians, and also Thracians. Those last had for their chief Rhesporis, whose brother Rhescus followed the contrary party. It was by agreement, and out of policy, which has frequently been practised since in like cases, that these two princes were thus divided between two formidable powers, who came to fight in their country. Their intention was, that which ever should have the good fortune to be on the conquering side, should protect the other.

*The mag-
nificent
appearance
of the
army.*

This review presented the most beautiful sight that was possible to be imagin'd. For Brutus, who was a great lover of simplicity in every thing else, and demanded of his subalterns the same modesty of which he set them an example, loved rich armour, and pleased himself

himself in ornamenting it with gold and silver. ^{A. R. 710.} ^{Ant. C. 42.} He imagined that this magnificence was proper to exalt the courage of those who were susceptible of elevated sentiments; and that the value of the metal interesting others to preserve their arms, would be a motive for them to fight more valiantly. He had for the author and example of this way of thinking the great Cæsar, who followed that practice from the same principle.

Brutus and Cassius accompanied the ceremony of the review with a speech to the soldiers. As great part of these troops had formerly fought for Cæsar, they thought it necessary to lay before them the great and just motives which ought to attach them to the cause which they now undertook to defend.

For this purpose they raised a Tribunal, upon the top of which were placed the two generals, having about them all the Senators of their party. Cassius harangued the troops, Brutus having imposed upon himself this law, as I have said, to yield to him in every thing the distinctions of honour and pre-eminence.

To the speech they join'd another kind of argument, which operated more effectually on the minds of the soldiers, and this was a large distribution of money. As they had amass'd great riches in the opulent countries of Asia, they found themselves in a con-

* Other great men have been of a contrary opinion. See, upon this subject, the examples, and authorities, for and against it, collected by M. Rollin, Hist. Anc. T. VIII. I. XVII. § 5. Without pretend-

A. R. 710. dition to give to each soldier fifteen hundred
 Ant. C. 42. denarii (one and thirty pounds five shillings) five
 times as much to each of the captains, and to
 the tribunes in proportion. They even added
 particular gratifications to those who distin-
 guished themselves by their bravery. They
 observed great order in this distribution; for
 as soon as each had received his present, he
 marched off towards the Hebrus, and made
 room for those who were to follow. The
 general rendezvous where the army was to as-
 semble was the plain of Dorisea, celebrated in
 history for the review which Xerxes made
 there formerly of his innumerable troops.

*Brutus and
 Cassius ad-
 vance be-
 yond Pei-
 riapolis.* From Dorisea Brutus and Cassius continued to
 march towards the East, coasting along the
 shore, and accompanied by a fleet command-
 ed by Tillius Cimber, who frequently landed,
 and marked out the proper places for their
 encampments.

Norbanus and Saxa had not sufficient forces
 to resist so formidable an army. Saxa who
 was advanced nearer the enemy, marched back
 to Norbanus, and having joined their forces,
 they hoped that the advantage of their situation
 would make amends for their weakness, and
 that they might be able to maintain their
 ground in the narrow passage in which they
 were posted. Brutus and Cassius would have
 been very much embarrassed to have forced
 this passage, without the assistance of Rhes-
 cuporis. That prince, being a native of the
 country, shewed them a way thro' the moun-
 tains, but where they had no water, and so
 covered with bushes, thickets, and woods,
 that they were obliged almost at every step to
 clear the way with the hatchet by cutting
 down

down the trees, which hindered their passage. A. R. 710.
They appointed him a number of picked men, Ant. C. 42.
at the head of whom was Bibulus, son-in-law
of * Brutus. These took with them pro-
visions and water for three days, and after in-
credible fatigues, when they had begun to
murmur against Rhescuporis, and to suspect
him of treachery, at last, the fourth day, they
perceived the plain and the river. Upon this
they gave a loud shout of joy, and it was that
which saved Norbanus and Saxa, who must
otherwise have been surrounded. Rhascus,
who, as I have said, was in their camp, gues-
sed at the meaning of the shout, and, ex-
tremely surprised that troops should be able to
pass by a way which he thought scarcely prac-
ticable for wild beasts, immediately gave notice
of it to the lieutenants of the Triumviri, who
retired in haste to Amphipolis. Thus the Re-
publican chiefs found the passes open, and
marched on to the other side of Philippi, where
they happened upon a ground very advan-
tageous for encampment, where they might
expect the enemy. Appian gives a description
of those places, which will throw a great deal
of light upon the account we are to give of
what happened there.

The City of Philippi, formerly Datus, and *A de-*
before that *Crenides*, took the name which it had *scription of*
at the time I am now speaking of, from Philip, *the country*
the first author of the Macedonian Grandeur, *about the*
who had fortified that place, as proper to keep *city of* *Pbiliippi.*
the Thracians in awe. It was situated upon a
mountain, all which it covered, even to the

* *He was son of Portia, the famous Bibulus, colleague
who before she espoused Brutus, and enemy of Caesar.
had been married to the son of*

*A. R. 710. out-let of the passes, thro' which the army of
Aat. C. 42. Brutus and Cassius marched. Towards the
West there was a plain below it, which stretch-
ed itself out in a gentle declivity, almost fif-
teen leagues, as far as the river Strymon. In
this plain, about two miles from the town,
were two little hills, at about a mile's distance
from each other, and defended on one side by
those mountains, which the Roman detach-
ment under the conduct of Rhescuporis had
such difficulty to pass over, and on the other
by a morass, which communicated with the
sea. It was upon these two hills that Brutus
and Cassius fixed their camps; Brutus on the
hill towards the North, and Cassius on that to-
wards the South; and in the intermediate space
which separated them, they cast up lines and
a parapet from one hill to the other. Thus
they kept a firm communication between the
two camps, which mutually defended each
other, as if they had been only one; while in the
mean time they were really distinct, and this
distinction procured to each of them greater
facility in keeping their men together, and
making them observe proper discipline.*

*This encampment was extremely commodi-
ous to them, in every respect. The heights
which they occupied, preserved them from
being attacked, and put them in a condition
to keep upon the defensive, if they judged it
proper. On the other hand, if they chose to
fight, they had before them a large plain, to
draw up their numerous armies upon. A small
river called Ganga, or Gangites, ran at the bot-
tom of their camps. Behind them was the sea,
which furnished them with all kinds of pro-
visions, which they could stand in need of.*

The

*The en-
campment
of Brutus
and
Cassius.*

The island of Thasos, at twelve miles distance, served them for a general magazine; and at the distance of nine miles, the town of Neapolis opened its port to their fleet, and there kept it secure. So advantageous a situation determined them not to go far off, and if they had even inclined to it, they would have found it very difficult. For Antony, upon the news that Norbanus and Saxa had been obliged to retreat, fearing lest he should lose Amphipolis, made such long forced marches, that he arrived much sooner than he was expected.

A. R. 710.
Ant. C. 42.

He had the satisfaction to find not only his lieutenants masters of Amphipolis, but the town fortified, and put in a posture of defence. He there deposited all the baggage, leaving a legion to defend it; while with the rest of his troops he advanced towards the enemy, and encamped at only a mile's distance.

This boldness astonished Brutus and Cassius; and so much the more, that in the disposition of the camps, all the disadvantage lay on Antony's side. He encamped on the plain; and his adversaries on the rising ground. They had their wood from vast forests, which were at their command; and he from marshes, which furnished him more with reeds, than wood proper for palisadoes. A river supplied them very commodiously with plenty of water, for which the other was obliged to dig wells. In short the provisions came to them from Phasos, an island at a small distance from them; while Antony was obliged to bring his from Amphipolis, almost at the distance of fifteen leagues. And, what is still more considerable, the Republican Chiefs were sure of subsistence from Asia, and all the East which depended upon

A. R. 710. them, while the Triumviri had no resource
 Ant. C. 42. but Macedonia and Thessaly, because the fleets
 of Murcus and Domitius on one side, and of
 Sextus Pompeius on the other, hindered them
 from getting any provisions, either from Italy,
 Spain, or Africa. Besides they were run short
 of money, and upon reviewing their armies,
 instead of being able to imitate the magnifi-
 cence of their enemies, they were reduced to
 distribute to each soldier, by way of present,
 twenty five denarii only.

Weak in so many different respects, they
 had only the advantage over the others in this,
 viz. the experienced valour and number of
 their troops. After Octavius had joined An-
 tony, their combined armies consisted of nine-
 teen * legions, composed chiefly of Cæsar's
 old soldiers, and not only complete as to their
 number, but even augmented by a great many
 supernumeraries. Thus their infantry amounted
 at least to one hundred thousand men. But
 their cavalry was less numerous than that of the
 enemy, for they had only thirteen thousand
 horse to twenty thousand of theirs. If we call
 to mind what we have said of the forces of the
 Republican party, we shall see that two such
 powerful Roman armies never before fought
 against one another.

* I have said before, ac-
 cording to Appian, that in the
 conference in the island of the
 Reno, it had been agreed up-
 on that Octavius and Antony
 should cross the seas, each at
 the head of twenty legions.
 Here the same Appian mentions
 no more than nineteen, to
 which there is only one to be
 added, which Antony had left
 at Amphipolis to guard the
 baggage. It may be supposed
 that the forty legions, which
 were mentioned before, being
 far from complete, the Trium-
 viri had reduced them to a
 much smaller number.

A. R. 710.
Ant. C. 42.

Octavius did not make them wait long for him; on the contrary he had made all the expedition possible, not being willing that the affair should be determined in his absence, and fearing little less a victory obtained by his colleague without him, than one obtained by his enemies. From this motive he remained no longer at Dyrrachium than the violence of the disease absolutely obliged him to; and at the end of ten days, tho' he was very far from being perfectly recovered, he began to march with his army. After the two Triumviri were joined, they placed themselves in such a manner, that Octavius was opposite to Brutus and Antony to Cassius.

Their scheme and interest was to bring on a *The first* general action as soon as possible. They then *battle of* offered battle to the enemy, who for the con- *Philippi.*trary reason would not engage, and contented themselves with drawing up their troops at the head of their camps, but without leaving the high ground, or going down into the plain. Cassius especially, who understood war very well, was strongly attached to the scheme of letting the army of the Triumviri decay with famine, which must certainly have been the case in a short time. With this view, on Antony's arrival, knowing the bold and enterprising character of the general who was opposed to him, he applied himself to fortify his entrenchments more and more. And as between the left wing of his camp and the morass which I have mentioned, there remained a small spot of ground, he drew a line from his camp to the morass well palisadoed, to prevent all surprize, and secure his rear.

146 ÆMILIUS II. and MUNATIUS, Consuls.

A. R. 710. Appian does honour to Antony, for having
Ant. C. 42. by his boldness and ability, forced Cassius to
fight. He says, that while he amused the
enemy, by drawing out his men every day in
order of battle, he detached some cohorts to
work constantly, in order to make the morass
passable, and then to establish lodgments be-
tween the camp of Cassius, and the island of
Phasos. They beat down the reeds which
were on a line with the work they had begun,
and formed a causeway, which they made firm
on each side with a wall of stones; and when
they met with any place where the marsh was
too deep, they threw a bridge over it. In
short, at the end of ten days and nights the work
was finished, without the workmen's having
been observed by the enemy, because they
were covered with a thicket of reeds, which
was between them and the camp of Cassius.
This general was not apprized of so tedious
and important a work, till he discover'd the
forts which several of Antony's cohorts had
raised, and where they had lodged themselves.
Strangely surprized at the boldness and success
of the undertaking, he resolved to raise a work
of the same kind in the morass, and to make
a road which should go from his camp to that
of Antony, should cut the other, and thus
break the communication between Antony's
camp, and the forts which were raised behind
his. In order to hinder this work, Antony in
presence of all the army, went at noon to at-
tack furiously the lines which Cassius had drawn
from his camp to the morass. The sequel of
the narration appears to me not easily compre-
hended. According to him, the troops of
Brutus, thinking themselves insulted by An-

tony's boldness, fell immediately upon him, without waiting for the order of their general, and then turned themselves against Octavius's army, which was opposite to them. These motions appear to me to be very irregular. But however it be, it was this assault given by Anthony to the lines of Cassius, which gave occasion to a general battle, according to Apian's account of it.

A. R. 710.
Ant. C. 42.

Plutarch relates the affair in quite a different manner, and will have it, that the battle was the effect not of any accident, but of a deliberate resolution, which had been taken in council between Brutus and Cassius, and of which he gives a full account. Cassius opposed this plan, as I have said, but Brutus at last overcame his reluctance. He wanted to have the affair decided in the speediest manner, in order either to terminate quickly the slavery of his country, or the miseries and disquiets which mankind suffer in war. He was strengthened in this resolution by the advantages which his cavalry gained in different skirmishes, over that of the enemy. In short, some dissents, and suspicions of the fidelity of several of the officers, determined a number even of Cassius's friends to be of Brutus's opinion. There was only one of Brutus's friends, named *Atilius*, who was for delaying and putting off the time till winter. Brutus having asked him, in full council, what motive influenced him to be of that opinion: "At least, answered Atilius, I shall have a longer time to live." This expression which denoted despair, displeased every body exceedingly, and Cassius seeing himself so ill supported, and always alone in his opinion, con-

A. R. 710. fended to a battle entirely out of complaisance,
A. R. C. 42. and against the conviction of his own mind.
What he said to Messalla was a proof of this.
After supper, which was but a dull one, and
during which Cassius, who was naturally gay,
appear'd extremely pensive, when Messalla re-
tired, he took him by the hand and spoke to
him in Greek: “ I take you to witness Mef-
“ falla, that I am in the case of Pompey,
“ forced in spite of myself to risk the fate of
“ my country on the hazard of a single action.
“ However, let us take courage, and place
“ our hopes on fortune, which can rectify by
“ one of her caprices, not extraordinary to
“ her, the wrong resolution which we now
“ take.” Those were the last words of Cassius
to Messalla. He then embraced him, begging
him to sup with him next night, which was his
birth-night. Brutus, on the contrary, was full
of confidence, and the great maxims of philo-
sophy with which he still encouraged and
comforted himself and his friends, were all the
entertainment during their repast.

Next morning very early, the signal of
battle, viz. the purple coat of arms, appear'd
on the tents of the two generals. Before the
troops went out, they talked a little while to-
gether on that spot of ground which separated
the two camps, and Cassius said to Brutus:
“ I wish we may succeed, and enjoy long to-
“ gether the fruits of our victory! But you
“ know very well, that the greatest events
“ are those whose success is the most uncer-
“ tain. As then supposing we should fail of
“ success, it will not be easy for us to see one
“ another again, tell me what you think of
“ the choice between flight and death.”

Brutus

Brutus answered him, “ When I was young, “ I ventured to utter, I know not how, a “ hardy maxim in morality, and dared to “ blame Cato for killing himself, maintaining “ that it was neither conformable to the re- “ spect due to the gods, nor worthy of a man “ of courage, to yield to fortune, and fly from “ disgrace, instead of supporting it with con- “ stancy. But now finding myself in a critical “ conjuncture, I think quite differently. If “ the gods are not pleased to favour our arms, “ it is not my inclination to run after new “ hopes, and to try new efforts. I shall lay “ down my life, giving thanks to destiny, that I “ have already sacrificed to my country on the “ day of the ides of March. Since that time “ I have lived only for her, but have always “ preserved the rights of my liberty and “ glory.” Cassius smiled, and embracing Brutus, “ Let us go, said he, to fight in this “ disposition. We are sure either of conquer- “ ing, or of not fearing the conquerors.”

A. R. 710.
Ant. C. 42.

It may seem surprizing, that Brutus should call it boldness in a person to condemn a voluntary death. This he had imbibed from the maxims of the Stoicks, who looked upon suicide as the highest degree of heroism. But we know that other philosophers, more moderate and judicious, have established that maxim which Brutus here retracts, and ² have thought, which is very true, that it is not allowable for any man to leave, of his own accord, the post in which his general, that is God himself, has placed him.

² Vetus Pythagoras in- Dei, de statione decedere, iussu imperatoris, id est Cic. de Sen. n. 73.

A. R. 710. The Triumviri did not expect a battle.
 Ann. C. 42. Antony at the head of his troops proposed to force the lines of Cassius, on the side of the morass (in which Plutarch agrees with Appian): and the army of Octavius was drawn up in order, to support Antony, in case of need. It is certain, however, that the action began by a brisk and unexpected attack on the lines of Cassius. With regard to the plan, prosecution, and history of this great action, I find so much uncertainty and confusion in the account given of it by authors, that I shall content myself to relate, without connexion, the most remarkable circumstances, and such as are allowed to be true without exception.

Brutus et Cæsarius. The army of Brutus performed wonders, and indeed too well, without giving attention to the tumultuous cries from the morass; and even without regarding the orders of the general. They threw themselves with fury upon the troops of Octavius, who were opposite to them, and broke them at the first charge. The legions which formed Brutus's right wing, rushed upon the left of the enemy; and having made them fall back, penetrated as far as the camp, of which they took possession, after having cut in pieces those who were left to guard it, and then thought of nothing else but plunder. Brutus himself was transported with the ardour of his troops, and having crushed the center of Octavius's army, he also penetrated into the camp, where, by an unpardonable blunder, he thought of nothing but pushing the advantage he had gained, persuading himself that Cassius had the same good fortune.

But

But it was quite otherwise. The lines of that unfortunate general were forced, and immediately his cavalry shamefully took flight. There was no effort which he did not try to make his infantry stand, even to the catching hold of the flyers by the arm, seizing himself the colours, and planting them on the ground, as a signal for them to rally. But he could not inspire his dismayed troops with courage by his valour. His army was entirely put into disorder, and his camp taken by Antony; so that very ill attended, he was obliged to retire under a little hill at some distance.

Brutus had gained a complete victory. He saw with great satisfaction the field of battle abandoned by the enemy, and covered with their dead, their camp seized and plunder'd, three of their standards with several colours taken, and carried by his soldiers in triumph. But returning to his own camp, he was surprised and astonished not to find the tent of Cassius standing, and visible as usual above the rest. He observed, with the same astonishment, that the ramparts were demolished in several places. Then he began to apprehend that a misfortune had happened, and sent orders to those who were scouring the country, to leave off the pursuit, and return to their camp. Thus he disposed himself to repair the disaster of his colleague, but it was too late, and his slow motions only served to hasten the death of Cassius.

Brutus detached a body of cavalry to find *Cassius* out Cassius, and bring him back certain news *ibro' pre-*
of him. This detachment having been ob- *cipate def-*
served at a distance, by those who were with *pair, kills*
Cassius, (for as to himself he did not raise his *himself.*

A. R. - 1^o. he imagined them to be his enemies in
Act. C. 4^o. search of him. In the mean time, in order to
be positively informed, he ordered an officer, named Titinius, to advance and reconnoitre
them. Titinius was joined by Brutus's de-
tachment, who seeing a friend, that was attached
to Cassius, and being informed of him that his
general was alive, shouted aloud for joy.
Those who were more particularly acquainted
with him, alighted from their horses, shook
hands with him and embraced him ; while the
rest made a circle round him with all the com-
motions and noise of immoderate joy, which
was the cause of one of the greatest misfortunes,
for it was this which deceived Cassius, and
persuaded him that Titinius was taken by the
enemy. “ Must I then, said he with exces-
“ sive grief, out of love to life, stay to see
“ my friend made prisoner before my eyes.”
He said no more, but retired into his tent with
one of his freedmen, named Pindarus, whom
he had kept about his person ever since the time
of the misfortunes of Crassus in the war against
the Parthians, that in time of need he might
be his last resource, by taking away his life.
That freedman then cut off his head, for it
was found separated from his body Pindarus
himself appear'd no more after that
time, which made some suspect, but without
any probability, that he had done it without
orders.

Titinius arrived very soon after with the
crown, which had been put upon his head by
Brutus's party. Struck with the groans and
lamentations of the friends of Cassius, he
thereby understood the disaster which his
frowns had occasioned ; and he punished
himself

himself for it immediately, by falling on his A. R. 710.
Ant. C. 42. sword.

Brutus already knew of the defeat of Cassius, and was informed of his death as he drew near his camp. He ran to him, bathed him with tears, calling him *the last of the Romans*, and saying, he had no hopes that Rome would ever again produce so great a man as this resolute enemy of tyranny. Afterwards having caused them to wrap up the body decently, he ordered it to be carried to the island Thasos, there to receive the last honours, for fear that this mournful ceremony, if it was celebrated in the camp, should weaken the courage of the soldiers.

It was only the precipitate despair and false heroism of Cassius, which gave the advantage of this famous action to the party of the Triumviri. Otherwise they were both equal, or rather the Republicans may be said to have had The death of Cassius gives a superiority to the Triumviri. the superiority. The left wing on both sides was defeated, and one of the camps of each party was forced and taken. But the number of the slain on the side of the defenders of liberty, was one half less than on that of their enemies, viz. eight thousand instead of sixteen, and the camp which Brutus had taken was common to the two armies of Octavius and Antony, whereas that which Antony forced, belonged to Cassius only ; and tho' it was destroyed, yet that of Brutus was still entire, which offered a secure retreat for the vanquished troops. The death of Cassius made the balance incline in favour of those, which, in other respects, were the most unfortunate. It deprived the Republicans of the most skilful general of the two, and Brutus of a companion who was extremely useful to him, in directing his

A. R. 710. his military operations, and ruling the troops.

A. C. 42. It also gave spirits to the enemy, which before they heard that news, were greatly sunk. But when a slave of Cassius came to inform them of it, bringing with him as proofs the coat of arms and sword of his master, they again took courage, and thought themselves more in a condition than ever to hope for victory.

Octavius. I have said nothing of Octavius in this account of the action, because he had no great share in it. He was not yet recovered, however, he made them carry him in a litter into the middle of his troops ranged in order of battle, not out of bravery, but in consequence of a dream of Artorius his physician, who said he had received orders from Minerva to carry Octavius out of the camp. This precaution was far from being useless, for if Octavius had remained in the camp, he could not have avoided being killed or taken. His litter in which they thought he lay was pierced several times, and it was with great difficulty that he escaped from the field of battle. He made them carry him as fast as they could towards a morass, from whence he gained the wing which Antony commanded.

Plin. VII. Pliny says still more, for he affirms, that Octavius remained three days concealed in the morass. This was so little probable, and it is so natural to think, that the vanquished General would seek and meet with a speedy refuge from the victorious army of his colleague, that I cannot help looking upon this account of Pliny's as a false report, countenanced afterwards by * Antony. In the dissensions which broke

out

* Pliny seems to derive his Mæcenæ, while many must arising from Agrippa and it doubtful in the present case.

But

out afterwards between them, they kept with- A. R. 710.
in no bounds ; and Antony, whose bravery was Ant. C. 42.
above all suspicion, took pleasure in casting a
reproach of timidity upon Octavius. I am not Flor. IV. 7.
more surprised at the report spread to the dis- Plut. Ant.
advantage of Antony himself, signifying that
he was not present at the action. Octavius re-
torted upon him, and being unjustly reproach-
ed by him, attempted to rob him of a glory
he justly deserved. The passions of men alter
objects so strangely, that it is no easy affair to
discover the truth, or even the appearance of
it, thro' those clouds which sometimes obscure
the most celebrated actions.

The first care of Brutus, when he became *Brutus re-*
the sole general, was to assemble *Cassius's animates*
troops, and rouse up their courage. As they *the courage*
had lost every thing by the plundering their *of Cassius's*
soldiers. camp, he promised them two thousand dena-
rii each, to make up the loss which they had
sustained by the enemy. There was nothing
more capable of giving them joy and confi-
dence. They admired the magnificence of
such a gift, and with loud shouts of applause
proclaimed Brutus alone invincible and victo-
rious among all the generals who were engaged
in the battle. Antony, however, might share
this glory with him. Brutus was charmed at
the joy he saw arise in the hearts of his van-
quished troops, but he durst not yet trust suffi-
ciently to them to accept the challenge which
the Triumviri gave him next day. When he

*But there is some obscurity in that he misunderstood them.
the text ; and besides, as he Any supposition appears to me
does not quote the proper ex- more probable than the fact
pressions of these two witnesses, which I here refute.
we may be allowed to suspect*

saw

A. R. 7th. saw them drawn up to offer him battle next
 A. A. C. 42. day, he kept himself at the head of his camp
 upon the high grounds; and when weary
 with waiting he observed them retire, he also
 did the same.

The embarkation of the fleet. Brutus's situation was extremely embarrassed, and he met with particular difficulties in each of his two armies, which constrained him very much. The victorious army was overcharged with a vast multitude of prisoners, which were very troublesome to guard. There was especially among them a great number of slaves, which it was not prudent to leave surrounded with arms, for fear they should lay hold of them, and occasion a great deal of disorder. Brutus determined to cause them all to be killed; which resolution was very opposite to the gentleness of his character, but which he thought justifiable, as well from necessity, as the example of the enemy, who had killed all their prisoners. With regard to those who were free, who were taken in the battle, he sent back a great many of them, telling them, that they ought not to suppose that they had been taken by him, but more justly by his enemies; for in the camp of the Triumviri they were prisoners and slaves, but free and citizens in that of Brutus. However, it was not possible for him to execute at large those generous sentiments, the cruel zeal of his friends, and the principal officers of his army being so greatly exasperated, that it was necessary, in order to save those unfortunate prisoners, to procure them the means of hiding themselves, or escaping by flight.

His friends were especially inexorable with respect to two buffoons, one of which Plutarch calls

calls Volumnius, and the other Saculio. They brought these two men to him, accusing them of continuing still their low buffoonries, even at the expence of their vanquishers. Brutus, who was engaged in affairs of more importance, did not speak a word, and Messalla, who was present, said, that if they believed the accusation to be true, he thought they should begin with whiping them heartily, and then send them back to the Triumviri to make them ashamed of the company they kept even in time of war. This proposal of Messalla's diverted a great many. But Casca, he who gave the first blow to Cæsar, was greatly displeased at it. “ It is not, says he, by indecent jokes and pleasantries that we ought to express our regret for the death of Cassius.” And addressing himself to Brutus, he added, “ You will testify what sentiments you preserve with regard to your colleague, according as you punish or spare those who insult his memory.” Brutus, offended at this rude expression of Casca, “ Why do you then, answered he, trouble me with your questions? why do not you execute your pleasure upon them?” This answer was taken for a consent. They then brought out these two miserable buffoons, and made them pay with their lives for the impertinence of their tongues.

The army of Cassius gave still more trouble to Brutus. These vanquished troops, deprived of the chief who used to command them, were timid before the enemy, and arrogant with regard to their new general. Brutus, who was good natured, and more inclined to make use of reason and gentle methods, than the rigour of command, could hardly restrain his

A. R. 710. soldiers, who were always ready to mutiny.
 Ant. C. 42. He was even afraid that they should give ear to the solicitations of the Triumviri, who dispersed letters among them, inviting them to desert under very great promises. These difficulties disturbed his constancy, and disposed him to throw off, in some measure, the principles of humanity and clemency, which, till that time, had been the chief object of his conduct. In order to fix those restless spirits, who had it in their power at any time to escape from him, he promised to his army after the victory, the plunder of two of the most flourishing towns of Greece, Thessalonica and Lacedæmon.

Plutarch¹ looks upon that as the only reproach on the character of Brutus, which would admit of no apology. It is true, says that grave author, that Octavius and Antony allowed their soldiers rewards still more odious, seeing they drove almost all the old inhabitants out of Italy, to distribute their lands and houses to their troops. But there was a great difference between the Triumviri and Brutus. The former

¹ Τέτο τῷ Βρέτῳ οὐ μόνον
εἰστι τῷ οὐγκλημάτῳ αισπο-
λέγησιν ἐπιτάχειαν τοῖς σεαυτού-
μένοις Αυτῶν οὐ Καίσαρος
εξέτεσσι, ὅλιγα δεῖται πάστοις
Ιταλαις τὰς παλαιὰς ὀντιτορες;
εξελέσσωτες, οὐα χάρεσιν ἔκεινοι
οὐ πόλεις τὰς μὴ προστηκέσσας
λαΐζωσιν. ἀλλὰ τέτοις μὲν ἀρ-
χειν οὐ κρατεῖν ὑπέκειτο τὸ τῷ
παλέμῳ θέλος. Βρέτῳ δὲ διὰ
δόξας αἰρητῆς ἔτι οὐκάν, ἔτι
εὐέσθιαι συνεχωρεῖτο παρέ-
τοι παλιῶν, ἢ μετὰ τῷ παλε-

καὶ δικαίων καὶ ταῦτα, Κασσίς
τεῖνκέτος, δος αἰτίαν ἔχειν καὶ
Βρέτοις ἐνάγειν ἐις ἔνα τῷ
εἰανιστέσσων. Ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ ἐν
πλαώ πηδαλίοις συντριβάντος
ἔτερον ξύλα προστηλεῖν καὶ προσ-
αρμότειν ἐπιχειρεῖσσιν, οὐχ ἐν
μίν, αἰαγκανα δὲ μηχανώμενοι
πρέστις τὰς χεῖσιν. οὗτῳ Βρέτος
ἐν δύναμει ποσαύτη καὶ μελε-
ροῖς πραγμάσιν οὐκ ἔχων ἴσορ-
ροπέστα σεαυτοὺς οὐαίσκαζετο
χρῆσθαι τοῖς παρεύσι, οὐ παλ-
λὰ πράσσειν καὶ λέγειν τῶν ἔκει-
τοις δοκεῖτων.

had

had no other motive than to satisfy their ambition, and they only made war to render themselves masters of the Empire. But as Brutus, on the contrary, professed the highest virtue, it was not allowable for him neither to vanquish nor to save himself from danger, but by means which were strictly just and honourable; especially after the death of Cassius, who was blamed for having sometimes forced his colleague to violent measures. But such is the fatality of certain conjunctures. In a voyage, if the rudder of the ship happens to be broke, they endeavour to repair it with other pieces of wood, as well as possible, which indeed have not quite the desired effect, but however are necessary for the present purpose. In the same manner Brutus, finding himself in a very troublesome situation, only thought of providing against the most pressing incidents. He could no longer keep the equilibrium, because he wanted Cassius, who had served him as a counter-poise; and allowed himself to be led, almost against his will, by the counsels of those who were about him, and to whom every thing appeared right which tended to calm the soldiers of Cassius.

The Triumviri had the advantage, in being able to trust to the fidelity of their troops; but in every other particular they were in a much worse condition than their enemies. They began to suffer from famine; their camp was situated low, bordering upon marshes, and consequently unhealthy and incommodious. The autumnal rains having come on since the battle, their tents were filled with mud, and a great quantity of rain which froze immediately. To add to their misfortunes, they were informed

A. R. 710. formed that a powerful reinforcement, which
 Ant. C. 42. was sent to them from Italy by sea, had been
The fleet beaten, dispersed, and utterly ruined by the
abīcō be combined fleets of Murcus and Ahenobarbus.
had in the
Ionian sea
ci, 9, r, 9, s a
powerful
reinforce-
ment which
was sent to
the Trium-
viri.

That reinforcement consisted of two Legions, one of which was the Martial, so renowned for its bravery ; besides a Praetorian Cohort of one of the Triumviri, amounting to two thousand men ; as also between ten and twelve hundred horse, and some new raised troops, whose number is not specified. All these troops being embarked on board transports, under the escort of some vessels of war, the Republican admirals, who guarded the coast of Epirus and Illyrium, came to meet them with a fleet of one hundred and thirty gallies, each having three rows of oars. The engagement was very hot, and, if valour could have determined the success, the Triumviri's troops must have had the advantage. But the inequality was too great between trading vessels, and armed gallies ; and the small number of those which served to escort the convoy, was overcome by the multitude of the enemies vessels. They all either perished by the sword or fire, or saw themselves obliged to yield to the vanquishers, and take part with them. There were some few who saved themselves on the rocks, or on desert islands, and there, wanting every thing, hunger constrained them to gnaw the sails and cordage, and they endeavoured to quench their thirst by licking pitch and tar.

Octavius and Antony were punctually informed of this disaster ; and this was a fresh motive for them to try by all manner of ways, and at any rate, to bring Brutus to an action. But he, by an unexplicable piece of ill fortune, heard

heard nothing of this engagement, tho' it happened the same day with the battle before mentioned, till twenty days after, that is till the second battle of Philippi. If Brutus had been ^{A. R. 710.} ^{Ant. C. 42.} ^{He is not informed of the victory of his fleet, it is very certain that he would not have hazarded this second battle. For being sufficiently stocked with all sorts of provisions, advantageously situated, and besides all this, master of the sea, he would have reduced his enemies to perish by famine and misery in their camp, which the winter, that fast approached, would very soon have obliged them to abandon ; and if they had wanted to return to Italy, the Republican fleet would render the passage impossible, or at least very difficult and hazardous.} Plutarch acknowledges here a singular attention and an express determination of providence. The ² Empire, says he, could not be governed by an authority divided amongst several, but stood in need of one chief. Thus the Gods, willing to remove the only man who could stand in the way of him whom they designed master of the universe, hindered Brutus from receiving advantage from an event, which would have assured him of the victory. He was within a very little of receiving this information, which if he had, would have entirely changed the face of affairs. For the evening before the second battle of Philippi, a deserter, named Clodius, came into his camp, and told this piece of news, as a thing which was publick in

² Τῶν πραγμάτων, ὡς ἔτοιχε, μόνον ἐμποδὼν ὅτα τῶν χρείων ἀκέτι πολλοῖς ὄντων καθεκίλων, δυναμένῳ θελόμενῳ ἀπέκαψε ἄλλα μοναρχίας δεομένων, οὐ τὴν τύχην ἐκέίνην. Θεὸς ἐξάγειν καὶ μετασῆσαι τὸν

A. R. 710. the army of the Triumviri. But they despised
 Aar. C. 42. his information, looking on it as a piece of flattery, by which this deserter wanted to make his court to his new friends. In short, they were not at the pains of communicating it to Brutus.

The second battle of Philippi. Next morning, the armies being drawn up in order of battle, they remained a long while opposite to each other, without offering to engage. Brutus did not see among his troops, an air of joy and ardour, which could inspire him with the assurance of vanquishing. The cavalry were in no manner of hurry to begin the fight, waiting till the infantry should shew them the example. Besides, while he reviewed the ranks, he received several informations, which made him suspect the fidelity of a good many of the officers, and a great number of the troops ; and these suspicions were the more easily credited by him, as Cæsar's old soldiers, which chiefly composed his army, might naturally be supposed to preserve an attachment to that party which they formerly belonged to. In short, a brave officer named Camulatus, who had been honoured with remarkable presents for his valour, deserted to the enemy in the sight of Brutus. This grieved him excessively ; and partly through indignation, and partly through fear of a greater desertion, he immediately gave the signal, and began the attack towards the ninth hour of the day, that is to say, within three hours of sunset.

He had still the advantage, where he commanded in person. At the head of his infantry he bore down the enemy ; and, supported by his cavalry, he made a very great slaughter, and followed them a long way. But his left wing

wing fearing to be taken in flank, stretched it ^{A. R. 710.}
self out in order to enlarge its front ; by means ^{Ant. C. 42.}
of which the middle became too weak, to resist
the violent effort of the troops of the Trium-
viri. It was here then that the army of Brutus
began to yield. The center being put into dis-
order, and broken, the Triumviri, careful to
make the best use of this first success, instead
of amusing themselves with pursuing, killing,
and making prisoners, thought only of hinder-
ing those troops to rally again, who had begun
to retreat. With this design they separated from
one another ; and while Octavius penetrated as
far as the enemies camp, and took possession of
the posts to cut off the retreat of the fliers, An-
tony got in behind Brutus, and surrounded him.

Brutus performed wonders in so pressing an ex-
tremity, and acting both with head and hands,
he shewed himself equally a soldier and a com-
mander ; but he had no body to second him.
The troops of Cassius, amongst whom, in the
first action, there was more disorder than
slaughter, had still preserved an impression of
terror, which communicated itself to the rest
of the army ; whereas, on the side of the Tri-
umviri, those who were vanquished were cut
to pieces at the same time, and left behind them
none of that terror with which troops are natu-
rally struck, when opposed to their vanquishers.
And thus it appeared to have been a great ad-
vantage to Brutus, to have lost fewer in the first
engagement than the enemy, and yet this was
the cause of his defeat in the second.

Brutus, surrounded with the most valiant *The death*
officers that he had, fought a long while. Here ^{of Cato's}
it was that a son of Cato made amends, by a ^{br.}
glorious death, for the follies of his youth. ^{Plat. Cat.} ^{Min. &}

A. R. 710. For he had not imitated the discretion and mo-
Ant. C. 42. defty of his father, and his connexions with a Cappadocian woman, had brought upon him a great many jests and railieries. But upon this occasion he appeared worthy of the blood from which he sprung, demonstrating that it is easier to have courage against dangers, or even death itself, than against pleasures. He was always in the heat of the fight, and, overcome with numbers, he neither fled nor retreated ; but calling aloud to his enemies, and naming himself by his own name and that of his father, he fell at last upon a heap of dead bodies, with which the ground about him was covered.

Brutus. A great many brave men, and among others the ^{rest} of the brother of Cassius, perished in this manner, fighting beside Brutus. But after great and generous efforts, he was obliged to yield to necessity, and seeing all was lost, he resolved to fly, which was no easy matter for him to do. For Antony had expressly ordered, by no means to suffer the Chiefs to escape, for fear they should renew the war. Brutus run a very great risk of being taken, and it was owing to the generosity of a friend that he escaped.

A troop of Thracians were absolutely bent on taking him, and pursued him very close. Lucilius, who accompanied him in his flight, being willing to allow him time to escape, stopt, and allowed himself to be taken by those barbarians, telling them that he was Brutus; and, to confirm them in their mistake, he entreated them to carry him to Antony, as to an old friend, whereas Octavius was an implacable enemy to Brutus. The Thracians, overjoyed with so good a prize, returned towards Antony, to whom they dispatched some

of their companions, to give him notice that they were bringing Brutus along with them. A. R. 710.
Ant. C. 42. Antony marched to meet them, followed by a great number of officers and soldiers, whom this report had assembled, some of whom regretted the bad fortune of so virtuous a man, while others accused him of degenerating from the glory of his ancestors, in suffering himself, thro' an immoderate desire of life, to become a prey to a troop of Barbarians. When Antony saw the Thracians approach, he was a good deal embarrassed, hardly knowing in what manner he ought to receive Brutus. But Lucilius advancing with an air of confidence : “ It is not “ Brutus, says he, that is taken, fortune has “ not yet had the power of committing so “ great an outrage upon virtue. You will “ find him, dead or alive, always worthy of “ himself. I have deceived your soldiers, and “ I present myself before you, ready to suffer “ whatever punishment you shall please to in- “ flict upon me for my boldness.” At this, the joy of the Thracians, who had taken Lucilius prisoner, was changed into shame and indignation, and they appeared quite confounded : “ Be not troubled at the mistake, says Antony to them, you have taken a much bet- “ ter prize, than that which you fought after. “ You wanted to take an enemy, and you have “ brought me a friend. I take all the Gods “ to witness that I should have been very much “ troubled to know how to behave to Brutus. “ But men, such as Lucilius, I love much bet- “ ter to have for my friends than my enemies.” Having said this, Antony stretched out his hand to Lucilius, embraced him cordially, and committed him to the charge of one of his friends,

A. R. 710. whom he ordered to take care of him. Luci-
Act. C. 42. lius ever after this remained attached to An-
tony, and preserved for him the same fidelity
which he had shewn to Brutus, and with the
same ill fortune.

The last moments of Brutus. In the mean time Brutus had passed over a rivulet, the banks of which were covered with wood, and very rocky. Night being come on, he did not go far, but sat down in a hollow place, with his back against a rock. He had with him a small number of his friends, and the first officers of his army, amongst whom was P. Volumnius, whom Plutarch cites as the author of this part of Brutus's life. I shall not scruple to relate all those little circumstances, which Plutarch has taken from these memoirs.

Brutus lifting up his eyes to heaven, which was all spangled with stars, repeated a verse out of the Medea of Euripides, the sense of which is as follows: “ O ³ Jupiter, may he who is the occasion of so many mischiefs, not escape thy vengeance.” He meant this most probably of Antony, whose assistance and support he had hoped for, in order to re-establish liberty after the death of Cæsar; and who, by embracing the contrary party, was really the cause of all the mischiefs which followed. Brutus added another quotation of a Greek poet; two verses which Volumnius had forgot, but are hinted at by Florus, and mentioned by Dio. It is a blasphemy against virtue. “ O ³ unfortunate virtue, says Her-

* Ζεῦ, μὴ λαῆσσι τῶνδ' ὁς αἴτιος κακῶν.

Eurip. Med. v. 332.

• Ω̄ τοῦτον αἴτιον, λαῆσσι αἴρ' οὐσίαν σε
‘Ως ἐργοὶ θεάσθεντες εἰς τὸν αἴρειν τὸν Χν.

“ cules,

“ cules, in that poet, thou art nothing but a name, and I have worshiped thee as if thou hadst been a real good, but thou art only the slave of fortune.” Language of despair, which exposed the constancy that Brutus had hitherto shewn, and evidently discovered, that the hope of success was a necessary support to him. It is thus that virtue, which is purely human, and not founded upon the revelation of another life, where happiness will always reconcile itself to virtue, never fails to contradict itself.

Brutus then called to mind, with a great deal of concern, those which he had seen perish in the battle, and particularly regretted Flavius, chief engineer of his army, and Labeo, one of his lieutenants, the father of the celebrated lawyer of that name. Mean while one of the company was thirsty, and observing Brutus in the same condition, he took a helmet and went to fetch some water from the rivulet, which was hard by. In the mean time they heard a noise from another quarter, and Volumnius, together with Dardanus, Brutus’s equerry, went to see what was the cause of it. When they came back again they enquired after the water, but it was drank while they were gone. Brutus was still composed enough to smile at this little adventure. “ The water is drunk,” says he; you must therefore go and bring more.” The same person went again, but he narrowly escaped being taken, and got back with great difficulty, having been wounded.

It would appear that Brutus had still some remains of hope. He imagined that the number of the slain was not so very considerable on his side. Statilius, whom we have already mention’d on the occasion of Cato’s death, offered

A. R. 710. to go to make the discovery, and, in case the
 Ant. C. 42. camp was entire, he promised to hold up a light. The light appear'd, but they waited a long while in vain for the return of Statilius. "He will certainly return, says Brutus, if he is alive." But he never did, having been met with by a body of the enemy, who killed him.

According to Appian, Brutus passed not only the whole night, but part of the next day, wholly taken up with the care of gathering together the remains of his scattered forces; and now he saw about four legions of them assembled around him. It was an easy matter to sound these troops, and to know their disposition. Being afraid however to do it himself, he charged their officers to propose to them, to make an effort to get back again to their camp, and to drive out the enemy from it. The soldiers being discouraged, answered bluntly, that they thought they had done their duty to Brutus, and that nothing remain'd for them, but to make peace with their enemies on the best terms they could.

Plutarch makes not the least mention of this attempt, and relates the death of Brutus as happening the same night after the battle, which account I shall follow.

Statilius not returning, Brutus judged very right, that he was killed; and being positively determined to die himself, he bended a little, still sitting upon the ground, towards one of his slaves, called Clitus, and whispered something to him. The slave kept silence, and answer'd him only with tears. Brutus then called to him Dardanus, his equerry, who giving him no more satisfaction than the slave, he address'd himself

himself to Volumnius, and speaking to him in Greek, he put him in mind of the maxims of the Stoicks upon voluntary death, and the firm courage with which he ought to be provided for such a conjuncture. He then intreated him to help him to hold the sword, that he might plunge it in the more forcibly. Volumnius, and all who were present, refused to render him so melancholy a piece of service. And in order to divert it, one of the company told them, that they must not stay in that place where they were, and that it was most advisable for them to fly. “ Yes, replied “ Brutus briskly, ‘tis necessary to fly, but it “ must be with the assistance of the hands and “ not of the feet.”

He raised himself up, in pronouncing these words, and stretching out his hand to each of them with a serene countenance, he told them, “ That it gave him great joy to find that his “ friends were all faithful to him, and that “ if he complain’d of fortune, it was only “ with regard to his country. That as to his “ own person he looked upon himself as more “ happy than the conquerors, not only with “ regard to his former situation, but even at “ that very juncture, because he left behind “ him a glory of virtue, which neither their “ power, nor their arms, could possibly pro- “ cure to them. That, on the contrary, all “ posterity would judge them to be unjust, “ who had ruined those who had the best “ right; and wicked, for oppressing good “ men, in order to usurp an unlawful and ty- “ rannical power.” He finished by exhorting and beseeching them to think of securing their lives.

A. R. 710. Aet. C. 42. He then retired to a little distance, accompanied only by two or three persons, one of whom was Strato Egeates, who used to direct him in the exercises of eloquence. This Grecian, Brutus depended upon, to assist in dispatching him. Egeates however expressed a great deal of reluctance in taking upon him so shocking an office. But when he saw that Brutus had recourse to one of his slaves, “ If “ you are absolutely determined, say he, I “ can never suffer that you should find more “ assistance in a slave than a friend.” He then laid fast hold of the handle of the sword, and turning away his face, he kept it firm. Brutus, raising his left arm above his head, seized with his right hand the point of the sword, and, having placed it at the left breast, opposite the part where the pulsation of the heart is felt, he pushed himself strongly upon it, and died immediately.

Others say that Strato was only a witness of this bloody scene, and that Brutus holding the sword with his own hand, stabbed himself by falling upon it. But he had no need of assistance to die in this manner, and besides Plutarch gives us an unexceptionable proof that Strato was more than a spectator on this occasion. For he relates that some years afterwards, Messalla, when he was reconciled with Octavius, and in the first rank amongst his friends, presented to him that orator, saying to him with tears in his eyes, “ Cæsar, behold him who render’d “ to my dear Brutus the last deplorable “ service.”

When the body of Brutus was brought to Antony, he called to mind his brother Caius, who had been kill’d by that general’s order, and

and reproached his memory with it. However, he rather chose to lay the fault upon Hortensius, who had been charged with the execution of the order, and caused him to be killed as a victim due to his vengeance. With regard to Brutus, he order'd the last honours to be paid to him, and gave a very magnificent and costly military robe, to cover his body with. He even punished vigorously the avarice and infidelity of the freedman; to whom he had committed the care of the funeral, and, who tempted by the richness of the robe, secreted it, instead of burning it with the body. When Antony was informed of it, he caused him to be put to death. The ashes of Brutus were put into an urn, and sent to Rome, to his mother Servilia. The head had been sever'd from the trunk, before the funeral. Octavius, far less generous than Antony, was delighted, and as it were devoted to satisfy the manes of Cæsar, by placing at the foot of his statue in Rome, the head of his murderer, but it was lost at sea, in the passage from Dyrachium to Italy. Brutus was only in the thirty seventh year of his age when he died.

To finish all that belongs to the history of Brutus, it remains that I give an account of the death of Portia, his wife, which is related in a very tragical manner. They say that this heroine, being informed of the melancholy fate of her husband, resolved not to survive him. And that, as his friends, and the people in the house, kept her constantly in their sight, and took care to keep all sharp instruments out of her way, she put live coals into her mouth, and shutting it close suffocated herself. This story, tho' supported by the authorities of

A. R. 710.
Ant. C. 42.

Antony causes the last honours to be paid to his body.

Octavius sends his head to Rome.

Suet. Aug. 13. & Dio. Vel. II. 72.

The death of Portia, the wife of Brutus.

A. R. 510. of Nicholaus Damascenus, Valerius Maximus,
 Ant. C. 42. and Dio, may nevertheless be only fabulous,
 Plut. and credited from that taste which men have
 Prute. Val. Max. for the marvelous ; for Plutarch quotes a let-
 IV. 6. ter of Brutus, in which he complains of the
 negligence of his friends with regard to Portia,
 who having been seized with a languishing
 illness, formed a resolution to die without their
 offering to hinder her. It is true, this historian
 seems to question the authenticity of that
 Cic. ad. letter ; but among the letters which we have
 Brut. I. 9. of Cicero to Brutus, there is one, the subject
 of which has much embarrassed interpreters,
 and which evidently appears to be a * letter of
 consolation on the death of Portia. Thus it
 is very probable that Portia was dead before
 Brutus.

The names of the most illustrious persons who perished either in the battle of Philippi itself, or in consequence of that memorable engagement. Besides the son of Cato, the brother of Cassius, Labeo and Hortensius, whom I have already mentioned I find Varro and Lucullus, according to Valerius Maximus, killed by order of Antony, and after whom Volumnius, his friend, desired to be put to death, repenting for having engaged in so unfortunate a party. Quintilius Varus caused one of his freedmen to kill him, after putting on the ornaments of his dignity. But there was none of them all, whose case was more singular, or more proper to point out the uncertainty and caprice of human affairs, than Livius Drusus, the father of Livia, who was very soon after married to Octavius,

* *This is the opinion of Dr. Middleton in his life of Cicero.*

and whose son, Tiberius, was afterwards raised ^{A. R. 710.} to be emperor. This same Drusus killed him-^{Ant. C. 42.} self in his tent, to avoid falling into the hands of him who was going to be his son-in-law.

But he would not have obtained any quarter *The cruelty* of him, for Octavius, who had but a small *of Octa-* share in the victory, was extremely insolent *vius.* with regard to the vanquished. He caused to ^{Suet. Aug.} be put to death without mercy, all those of '3. distinguished rank amongst the prisoners, even loading them with insults and bitterest reproaches. To one of them, who had desired him to allow his body to be buried, he told that the vulturs and beasts of prey should be his grave. A father and son beseeched him to grant them their lives, but he ordered them to cast lots, and had the inhumanity to feast his eyes with the cruel sight, when, refusing to accept of so barbarous a favour, the father delivered himself up to the assassins, and the son killed himself. This unheard of cruelty of his, turned the hearts of all people against him; and when the prisoners, loaded with chains, were brought before the vanquishers, all of them, and particularly Favonius, heartily reproached him, while they saluted Antony with respect, calling him general.

If we inquire into the cause of this difference of conduct between Octavius and Antony, I believe we shall find no difficulty in accounting for it. Octavius was cruel out of principle, and, wanting to arrive at the sovereign power, he paved the way for it by destroying all those who might possibly preserve the Republican spirit of liberty. Wherefore as soon as his wishes were accomplished, and he thought there was no more need of cruelty,

he

A. R. 710. he became the most humane of all princes. Ant. C. 42. Anthony, who studied humanity more, and politicks less, followed the inclinations of a heart naturally inclined to generosity, and from which, passion alone sometimes biassed it.

The Republican party perishes with Brutus.

With Brutus perished, properly speaking, the Republican party. For those weak efforts which the remains of the armies, both by sea and land, which acknowledged them for their chief, afterwards made, can only be compared to the last convulsions of a dying man. With regard to Sextus Pompeius, who discovered true signs of life, he ought not to be consider'd as a Republican, but as one whose chief care, as well as the Triumviri, was to satisfy his ambition.

The remains of the vanquished army surrender themselves to the Triumviri.

Of the remains of the army vanquished at Philippi, there was assembled a body of about fourteen thousand men, who offered the command to Messalla. Though he was very young, his reputation was great, and, next to Brutus and Cassius, he made the greatest figure in that party. He gave a proof of his wisdom, in not striving injudiciously against fortune. For in concert with him, whose birth and rank made him in a manner his colleague, that is to say with Bibulus son-in-law of Brutus, he made use of that authority which these unfortunate troops invested him with, to determine them to submit to the conquerors, who received them very willingly, and divided them amongst their legions.

A fine expression of Messalla to Octavius.
Plut. Brut. I ought to mention here an expression of Messalla to Octavius, though it happened several years after. The judicious and faithful Messalla attached himself to Octavius, and served him very honestly in the war against

Antony. Octavius testifying his acknowledgments to him with some surprise, that after he had been so warm an enemy to him at Philippi, he should give such shining proofs of his attachment to him at Actium. “ Be not surprised at that, replied Messalla, you have always seen me on the best side of the question.” An expression equally bold and obliging, and further, strictly true in every circumstance. The cause of Brutus was certainly more just than that of the Triumviri. Between Octavius and Antony, justice was not in the question. But it is certain that the good of the Empire required, that Octavius should be conqueror.

I return to what followed upon the battle of Appian. Philippi. The forts about Philippi, with the troops which possessed them, together with the magazines of the islands of Thasos, fell into the hands of the conquerors; and all the riches which was found in those different places, as well as in the camps of Brutus and Cassius, became the prey of the soldiers.

A squadron commanded by Cassius of Parma, which came from Asia, and did not arrive till after the battle, with provisions and troops for the Repulican army, was soon augmented by the junction of some other small quibled fleets, which, after Brutus's defeat, were scattered up and down, without knowing what to do. It was likewise strengthened by a great number of officers and soldiers, who escaped from the battle. The son of Cicero, and some other persons of distinction, having escaped from Thasos, went likewise on board this squadron, which by means of those several additions, became a considerable fleet. In this condition

Ant. C. 42.

A. R. 710. condition they failed to the Ionian sea, and
 Ant. C. 42. ranked themselves under the command of the admirals, Murcus and Domitius Ahenobarbus.

*Murcus
 conveys
 part of
 them to
 Sextus
 Pompeius
 and Domi-
 tius, with
 the other
 keeps the
 sea for some
 time with
 out ac-
 knowledg-
 ing any
 chief.*

There they held a great council of war, the business of which was, what resolution ought to be taken with regard to the shattered remains of a power, which a little before, was very formidable. In spite of the defeat at Philippi, the two commanders were equally averse to court the friendship of the Triumviri, who appear'd to them, and not without reason, deserving their hatred. But though they readily agreed upon what they ought to avoid, they were nevertheless divided in relation to what course was proper for them to follow. Murcus, who had more solid judgment and less vanity, saw that it was not possible for them by themselves to resist the Triumviri, and was of opinion, that they ought to join Sextus Pompeius, and thereby form the whole enemies of the Triumviri into one body. Domitius, who was proud, courageous, and haughty, jealous of the rights of liberty, and probably of the quality of the chief of the party, could no more prevail upon himself to obey Sextus, than he could submit to Antony and Octavius. That ambition which his rank and birth inspired him with, would not allow him to submit to any of those, whom he looked upon as no more than his equals. He proposed then to defend the Republick with all the forces which remained, and maintain themselves independent, till the last moment, which alone was worthy of Romans.

Murcus and Domitius not only maintain'd their several opinions very warmly, but they
 put

put them in execution. Murcus, with those who were willing to follow him, passed into Sicily, and carried with him a great augmentation of force to Sextus Pompeius. Domitius was obstinate in keeping the sea as a commander, 'till he was at last obliged to submit to Antony, as we shall see in its proper place.

I must beg leave to propose here, to the *Anallegor*, lovers of letters, a thought of my own, concerning that famous allegory of Horace, which has been so differently explained, and has relation to that circumstance which I have just mentioned. There the poet represents the Republican party, after the battle of Philippi, under the image of a shattered vessel, which is destitute of resource, and which must certainly perish, were it to strike again upon the same shelves upon which it was before shipwrecked. All the parts of this allegory are perfectly explained in the above circumstance.

Horace took, upon this occasion, that *That poet resolution* which he advised others to. I *having es-* have said, that upon finishing his studies at Athens, he had been taken care of by Brutus, and made a legionary Tribune. He was in this ^{station} at the battle of Philippi, where he made no great figure, as to his courage; for he fled, and threw down his buckler which embarrassed him. But if he did not lose his life, he lost all his goods, and the little fortune he had, which was confiscated to the vanquishers. We owe to the melancholy situation which he was in at that time, those beautiful pieces of poetry, which have been either the

• *Tecum Philippos & celerem fugam
Sensi, reliqâ non bene parmuiâ.*

Hor. Od. II. 7.

A. R. 710. admiration of, or afforded an useful amusement to, men of letters of all ages. It is possible enough, he might never have cultivated that happy talent which he had received from nature, had not necessity forced him to it. He has taken care to inform us of this himself. “ I ² saved myself, says he, at the battle of Philippi, very much reduced, like a bird whose wings are cut, and robbed of my house and the place of my nativity. In this distress, bold poverty forced me to make verses.” He had no reason to complain of the Muses ; and the favours of Mæcenas, which he gain’d by his poetry, restored to him, with sufficient usury, all that he had lost.

* Unde simul primūm me dimisere Philippi,
Decisis humilem pennis, inopemque paterni
Et laris & fundi, Paupertas impulit audax
Ut versus facerem.

Epl. II. 2.

B O O K



BOOK L.

THE Perusian war. The origin of Anthony's love for Cleopatra. A treaty between the Triumviri and Sextus Pompeius. Victories gained by Ventidius over the Parthians. The war between Octavius and Sextus renewed. *An. Rom. 710-715.*

§. I.

The Triumvirate becomes triumphant. The Republican party is destroyed. Antony and Octavius make a new division of the provinces between them, to the prejudice of Lepidus. Octavius returns into Italy, and takes upon him the distribution of the lands promised to the Veterans. The advantage which he found in this function. The immense number of those whom he had to recompence. The indisposition of Octavius at Brundusium. The origin of the Perusian war. The vain character of L. Antonius. The opposite interests of the soldiers, and the possessors of those lands which were appointed for them. The avarice and insolence of the soldiers. A third interest interfe'r'd, viz. that of Antony. The secret motive which animated Fulvia against Octavius. The fruitless attempts of Octavius to shun a war. His artfulness and constancy. The difference between the forces of Octavius's party, and of that of Lucius. The beginning of the war. Lucius is besieged in Perusia by Octavius. A famine in

Perusia. *Lucius goes himself to find Octavius, in order to surrender at discretion. Good expressions of Octavius, who nevertheless orders bloody executions.* The town of *Perusia* is reduced to ashes, by an unforeseen accident. *Lucius's party is absolutely destroyed in Italy.* The flight of *Ti. Nero*, the husband of *Livia*, and father of the emperor *Tiberius*. The flight and death of *Fulvia*. *Julia*, the mother of *Antony*, escapes to *Sicily*, where *Sextus Pompeius* obliges her to pass into *Greece*. *Lucius* is sent into *Spain*, with the title of *Pro-consul*. *Antony's* mild and popular conduct in *Greece*. The luxuries of *Asia* plunge him into debauchery. Rejoicings in one part, and mourning in the other, in *Asia*. The simplicity and gentleness of *Antony's* character, the cause both of good and evil effects. The origin of his passion for *Cleopatra*. The magnificent and gallant entry of that Princess into *Tarsus*, where *Antony* was. The mutual entertainments between *Cleopatra* and *Antony*. The charms of *Cleopatra's* mind were more seducing than those of her beauty. She subdues *Antony*. She makes use of her power over *Antony*, to confirm to her self the possession of *Egypt*. She returns to *Alexandria*, and *Antony* presently follows her. The childish amusements and extravagant expences of *Antony*.

*The Trium-viri tri-
viri tri-
mpant.* *The Repub-
lican party* *is destroy'd.* **B**Y the victory at * *Philippi* the *Trium-viri* became triumphant. There remained almost none of the Republican forces, and *Sextus Pompeius*, on all accounts an enemy to *Cæsar's* factions, possessing *Sicily* only, was

* *Bruto & Cassio cæsis nulla jam publica arma.* *Tac.*
Ann. I. 2.

no formidable enemy to those, who saw all the rest of the Roman empire submit to their authority.

According to the terms of that treaty which was the basis of the triumviral league, the three associated generals were to share equally the fruits of their victory; but the faith of treaties is very little regarded among ambitious persons. Octavius and Antony, who had all the troops under their command, agreed together to spoil the feeble Lepidus. They accused him of having kept a correspondence with Sextus Pompeius in their absence, and under this pretence, but really upon account of his being without support, as well as without genius, they agreed to appropriate his provinces to themselves; only allowing him, as from a kind of commiseration, Africa, properly so called, provided he was not found blameable.

Octavius, who was not very favourably treated at the first division of the provinces, took care to make amends for himself in this. He took to himself Spain and Numidia, and even detached from Antony's lot Cisalpine Gaul, not to add it to his own, but in order that it might be incorporated with Italy, according to Cæsar's ancient plan, and that it might no longer be regarded as a Roman province. Octavius's system was not to part with Italy, but to establish his authority there upon a lasting footing. Thus it was not agreeable to his views that any other general should have a right to keep his legions on this side the Alps. They had experienced in the war between Cæsar and Pompey, and afterwards in that between Decimus and Antony, of what importance the government of Cisalpine Gaul was, to keep Rome in awe.

A. R. 71^o. Ant. C. 4¹. awe. Antony's share then only comprehended all Gaul on the other side the Alps, with that part of Africa which Cornificius possessed. But that which seemed to give the superiority to Antony, was the commission which he took to go and establish the triumviral power in the East. That is to say, to take possession of those vast and opulent countries, where there was no fear of resistance, after the defeat and death of Brutus and Cassius.

Plin. vii. Octavius was very sensible how much he was
47. hurt here, but necessity obliged him to make
Plat. Ant. large allowances to a colleague who was, at that time, his superior. The victory of Philippi belonged properly to Antony. The whole army attributed the honour of it to him; and by the glory of that action he quite eclipsed Octavius, who had but very little share in it.

Octavius It may be said however of that artful politician, that he only yielded to Antony the appearance, and retained to himself the real advantage. He returned into Italy, and charged himself with establishing in colonies the veterans, to whom they were bound to pay the reward of their services. From this he drew a double advantage. In the first place, in case of a rupture, he had Rome and Italy on his side, and he could give authority to his cause by the names of the Senate and Roman people, which was a great advantage in a civil war. Besides, the soldiers were to receive their rewards immediately from his hands. He must then become the direct object of their gratitude and attachment, and it was only by reflexion that Antony could possibly enjoy any share in it.

The

The number of those whom he had to re- A. R. 710.
compence was very great. Antony, in a speech Ant. C. 42.
which he made to the deputies of the East, as *mensa num- The im-*
Appian testifies, make them amount to more *ber of those*
than one hundred and seventy thousand. To *whom be*
such a prodigious number of veterans, Octavius *bad to re-*
was to assign houses and lands in Italy, over Appian.
and above a gift of twenty thousand sesterces Dio.
each. The money necessary for this distribu- Plut. Ant.
tion was not ready. Antony however took
upon him to raise it by taxes, which he would
lay on the provinces of the East. For this
end he marched into Asia with six legions, and
ten thousand horse. After he had made some
stay in Greece, Octavius brought the rest of
the troops back to Italy.

The separation of these two generals, obliges
me likewise to divide the account I am to give
of them. We shall therefore leave Antony for
a while, and confine ourselves to Octavius, who
had work enough on his hands from the com-
mission he had undertaken.

The first thing which happened to him was *The indis-*
his being taken very ill; and in this illness he *position of*
had almost lost his life. He had not been well *Octavius*
cured of the disease he was attacked with when *at Brundu-*
he went from Macedonia. He had always been *sium.*
in a languishing condition, and too much hur-
ried with affairs, to have time to take care of
his health, so that he had nearly died at Brun-
dusium. There was a report spread of his
death, which occasioned a good deal of trouble
at Rome. Several had conceived hopes, and
formed projects of a change. Others, on the
contrary, imagined that his disease was only a
feint; and that the report was published on
purpose to found the sentiments of the citizens,

A. R. 7th. and to have an opportunity of repeating the **A. R. C. 42.** violences and horrors of the proscriptions. So great a fermentation in the spirits of the people, made the presence of Octavius necessary in Rome. He therefore set out as soon as he was able to bear the fatigue of the journey, sending before him letters, which he wrote to the Senate, to calm their fears, by the promises of a mild and moderate conduct.

*The origin
of the Pe-
ninsular.
The vain
character
of L. Anto-
nus.*

It was hardly possible for him to make good a promise of this kind, considering the odious operation which he had to go through, and the trouble he was going to occasion all over Italy, by driving from their houses and lands the lawful possessors, in order to establish soldiers in their room. Another great obstacle to his tranquillity was L. Antonius, the brother of Antony, and present Consul, a man less vicious perhaps than turbulent, and whose proper character seems to have been levity, want of consideration, and vanity.

This last failing has been already taken notice of in this history, by those statues which he had caused to be made for him, and by the vain inscriptions, where the order of the Roman knights and the thirty-five tribes acknowledged him for their patron. A very extravagant and unheard-of ²title ; as if the thirty-five tribes, that is to say the Roman people, the vanquishers and masters of the world, could have need of a patron, or bestow that title upon one of their citizens.

* *Populi Romani igitur est
patronus L. Antonius !
Non modo hic latro, quem
clientem habere nemo velit ;
sed quis unquam tantis opi-*

*bus, tantis rebus gestis fuit,
qui se Populi Romani victo-
ris dominique omnium gen-
tium tutorem dicere aude-
ret ? Cir. Pbil. VI. 12.*

In

In consequence of the same vanity, he was A. R. 710. charmed with honouring himself, that very Ant. C. 42. same year, with the censorship and a triumph; but he was a censor without office, and had a triumph without merit. He was censor with Pigh. An. P. Sulpicius, and made out no roll which pro-^{nal.} perly belonged to this office. As to his tri-^{Dio.} umph, he demanded it in virtue of the pretended exploits against the mountaineers of the Alps. But what he did was extremely trifling, and he even had not the command in chief, which was always an essential condition of a triumph. Besides all this, he would never have obtained it, without the assistance of Fulvia his sister-in-law. This bold woman, in absence of Anthony her husband, and Octavius her son-in-law, exercised in Rome the triumviral authority, which Lepidus did not know how to make use of. She granted her protection to L. Antonius, in order to obtain a triumph, on account of that respect, or rather obedience, by which he recommended himself to her in the administration of his Consulship. He triumphed the same day that he entered into office with P. Servilius Isauricus, that is to say the first of January.

L. ANTONIUS.

P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS II.

A. R. 712.
Ant. C. 41.

After the ceremony of the triumph, L. Antonius came to hold the Senate. In order to this he put off the ornaments of the triumph, when he took occasion to compare himself very cruelly to Marius, who also had occasion to put off the triumphal robe, in order to preside in the Senate as Consul. Lucius observed a difference

A. R. 7th. difference between him and Marius, wherein he
 Ant. C. 4th. had the advantage ; which was, that Marius was obliged to be put in mind not to mix the military pomp of triumph, with the pacific office of president of the Senate ; whereas, with respect to himself, his modesty was purely voluntary, and required no hint. Another thing still in which he gave himself the preference to the vanquisher of Jugurtha and the Cimbrii, was the great number of statues he saw erected to his glory, whereas Marius had scarcely one. We may easily conceive by this what a vain man L. Antonius was, and what an easy matter it was for a haughty absolute woman, such as Fulvia, to govern a man of that character. Thus it was commonly said that Fulvia triumphed, and enjoyed the consular power.

O^ctavius however was not of that stamp as to allow her to usurp such an authority over him. In consequence of which there soon happened a division between them, which increased to an open war. The occasion of it was the distribution of the lands promised to the soldiers, which she exclaimed against.

The opposite interests of the soldiers and the people. The execution of this was in itself as difficult as it was unjust. The proprietors, whom they drove from their estates, complained bitterly. They came in flocks to Rome, with their wives and children, crying aloud, and demanding what crime they had committed, and why, as they were born in Italy, members of the Empire and the Republick, they were treated as vanquished enemies. Complaints so just exasperated all the people, and those who were capable of viewing things in a political light, were sensible besides that these lands, distributed

Appian. D. S.

buted to the soldiers, confirmed the power to their general, became fetters to enslave the state for ever, and destroyed all hope of ever seeing liberty again re-established. Besides, they had made a choice of the best towns of Italy ; for this calamity was not common to all of them, but fell precisely upon the most beautiful, and those whom the best lands belonged to. By this means the soldiers were better recompenced, and this the Triumviri had a particular eye upon. But an odious enough distinction, gave a new force to the murmurs and indignation of those who were the subjects of it. In short, some of the most powerful Citizens and Senators found themselves included in the disgrace, on account of the situation of the lands which they possessed. The credit of those augmented the weight of their complaints. It was not possible for Octavius to keep up to the rigour with them, and he was obliged to abate, at least in some measure, so evident and tyrannical an injustice. One exception granted, necessarily introduced others. Sometimes he was obliged to yield to the force of recommendations, and poverty itself spoke for those who lost all their subsistence in losing their little heritage.

On the other hand, the avaricious soldiers looked upon every thing as taken from them, which was left to the proprietors. Not content with the share which was allotted them, they violently took possession of the lands of their neighbours. Virgil was a famous example of this. His little estate having been exempted from the common law, by the favour which he found with Octavius, the centurion Arius, who was settled in his neighbourhood, wanted

A. R. 711.
Ant. C. 41.

Ecl. ix. &
ibi Serv.

A. R. 711. wanted to enlarge his boundaries ; upon which
Ant. C. 41. he quarrelled with him, and Virgil run a risk
of being killed by that brutal officer, if a spee-
dy flight had not saved his life, and preserved
to the Latin muses him who was to become
their principal glory.

Octavius himself had a great deal to fear
from the discontent of his soldiers. Their in-
solence was excessive, and proportioned to the
need which they understood he had of them.
He saw himself exposed more than once to the
danger of becoming a victim to their fury, and
his happy escape from it, especially in that
commotion which I am going to give an ac-
count of, was owing to his dexterity in joining
to a firm courage, that indulgence which the
circumstances of the times required.

He had appointed them to assemble in the
Campus Martius, where they were to receive
his orders, with regard to the distribution of the
lands which had been promised them. They
assembled very early, even before day-light ;
and as Octavius made them wait, they began
to mutiny. A Centurion, called Nonius, had
the boldness to represent to them, that they
wanted respect for their general, and excused
his slowness as an effect of his bad state of
health, and not of any want of regard for them.
Those who heard him, called him a flatterer,
mixing railleries with their invectives. The
quarrel increased ; they soon came to threaten-
ings, and Nonius seeing himself attacked by a
number of furious people, found no other re-
source left than to throw himself into the Ti-
ber, in order to swim over it. But the sedi-
tious soldiers followed him, pulled him out of
the

the water, killed him, and exposed his body ^{A. R. 711.} _{Ant. C. 41.} in the street where Octavius was to pass.

Upon hearing of this, the friends of Octavius advised him not to trust himself to such mad people, who were capable of carrying things to the greatest excess. But he was sensible that he must be ruined for ever, provided he drew back upon so critical an occasion. He resolved then to face the danger, how great soever it was, avoiding in the mean while, to increase the evil by too haughty a conduct, which in such a conjuncture would have been very imprudent. Upon arriving at the Campus Martius, he saw the body of Nonius, and turned aside from it. Afterwards, being mounted upon his tribunal, he complained very modestly of the murder of that officer. He imputed it to only a few of those who heard him, and exhorted them to use more moderation, with regard to one another, and mutually to spare the lives of each other. After this short speech, he executed what he had promised, as if nothing had happened to give him any uneasiness. He distributed the lands, assigning to each corps their lot and district. He even bestowed military gifts on those who deserved them, and upon some who deserved them not; and all this with a gentleness and dignity which not only calmed the mutineers, but filled them with admiration. Ashamed and confounded at their own insolence, and sensible that they deserved a different treatment, they wanted to give proofs of their repentance for what they had done, by offering to Octavius, to discover those who had killed Nonius, and bring them to him, in order that justice might be executed upon them. But he pushed his

A. R. 711. indulgence to the very last, telling them that
 Act. C. 41. he knew very well those who were culpable, but he thought they would be sufficiently punished by the reproaches of their own consciences, and the condemnation which their companions pronounced against them. This last artful expression gained their hearts effectually, and they all strove who should praise him most, and testify to him their satisfaction by repeated acclamations.

A third interest interferred, to wit, that of Antony. It may now be easily conceived into what strange perplexity, and what a labyrinth of difficulties and dangers the opposite interests of the proprietors of lands, and an infinite number of military people, accustomed to give laws to their Chiefs instead of obeying them, must throw Octavius. To increase the trouble and confusion, a third interest interfer'd, viz. that of Antony. Lucius his brother, and Fulvia his wife, were very sensible that Octavius, by taking upon him entirely the distribution of the rewards, must engross to himself all the merit of it. In order to remedy this inconvenience, they demanded Octavius to divide the charge of establishing the veterans in colonies, so that he might regulate whatever concerned his own soldiers, and they those of Antony. Octavius alledged in opposition to this, the authority of the convention made with his colleague, whereby it was stipulated, that the direction of this whole affair should be left entirely to him. This reason might prove the justness of Octavius's pretensions, but was not sufficient to appease the fears of Lucius and Fulvia, and besides this last had a secret motive which rendered her implacable towards Octavius.

She

She had been informed, that Antony, whose ^{A. R. 71.} inclination to debauchery ^{Ant. C. 41.} she very well knew, entertained publickly in the East *Glaphyra*, the ^{The secret motive} wife of Archilaus, grand Pontiff of *Comanes*. ^{which ani-} She wanted to avenge herself, by means of ^{mated Ful-} Octavius, on the infidelity of her husband, ^{via against} *Octavius*. without being shocked at the horror of the incest ; for he whom she solicited so impudently, was her son-in-law. The young *Triumvir* rejected the advances of that impudent and imperious woman ; and even sent her daughter back to her, assuring her that she was a virgin. This double affront, exasperated Fulvia beyond all measure, and she gave herself no rest till she had excited a war, by which she proposed, at the same time, to satisfy her resentment against Octavius, and to force Antony from his new amours, by obliging him to return to Italy.

Octavius had great reason to fear a war in the circumstances he was in ; for besides those difficulties which I have already mentioned, the bare name of Antony, who was at that time ^{The fruitless attempts of Octavius to begin a war. His artfulness and clemency.} much extolled for the glory of his exploits, and the reputation he had of joining clemency and generosity with his bravery, was a great obstacle to Octavius's success. He therefore did not neglect to inform them, that he agreed in every respect with his colleague, and that Lucius and Fulvia acted without the orders, and even contrary to the intentions of Antony. But it was very natural to think that a party, at the head of which appeared the brother and wife of Antony, must certainly be his, and this impression continued upon people's minds. Besides, a faction so much esteemed, had of itself a very great force. I find in Italy, at the time we are now speaking of, six or seven chiefs, and

A. R. 711. and as many armies, which acknowledged An-
Aet. C. 41. tony's authority. The chief of these, for the most part men of merit and skilful in war, were Ventidius, Pollio, Calenus, and Plancus. In short, that which added most to the troubles and dangers of Octavius, was the famine which arose in Italy, on the one hand, uncultivated and laid waste by the expulsion of the old proprietors ; and on the other, deprived of the assistance which it used to receive from abroad, and harassed with incursions both by Sextus Pompeius and Domitius Ahenobarbus. The famine began already to be felt in Rome, and there to occasion popular insurrections.

Influenced by so many united motives, Octavius thought himself bound to try every expedient, in order to shun a war. He granted to Lucius and Fulvia that which they demanded, and consented that they should preside at the distribution of the rewards which belonged to Antony's soldiers. This was all that they could pretend to with any colour of reason. But Fulvia wanted to be revenged ; in which she was very well seconded by Manius, who had the care of Antony's affairs in Italy during his absence, and was a very bold and intriguing man. These two heads governed Lucius.

It was resolved in council to labour to unite the possessors of lands and the soldiers against Octavius. Thus Lucius and Fulvia, instead of continuing as they had begun to give establishments to Antony's soldiers, received on one hand the complaints of those who were driven out of their possessions, thereby making a shew of protecting the oppressed ; and on the other they published, that the confiscated goods of the proscribed, and of those who had been declared enemies

enemies to the publick, were sufficient to pay off the rewards promised the soldiers ; to which they added, as a supplement in case of need, the money which Antony was then raising in Asia.

A. R. 711.
Ant. C. 41.

There could be nothing more specious than those allegations. Octavius, far from having those immense sums to dispose of, found his finances run so short, that he was obliged to break upon the treasures of the most revered temples of Italy, and even those of the Capitol ; engaging himself however to restore them afterwards. And with regard to Antony, the most profuse of all mankind, it would be only deceiving themselves to expect money from him. Mean while those speeches of Lucius and Fulvia, authorized by the name of Antony, were greedily swallowed by the possessors of lands, who found themselves thereby agreeably flattered ; and the soldiers themselves, provided they were to lose nothing by it, preferred that kind of reward which was less odious and tyrannical.

I do not know if ever there was a situation more delicate and critical, than that which Octavius was in that time. It were greatly to be wished, that we were acquainted with the motives of his policy upon that occasion, explained by some able hand. But such writers as Appian and Dio give us only bare accounts, frequently ill ranged, loaded with useless details, wanting necessary materials, and always void of life and spirit. The idea which I have formed of the conduct of Octavius from the idea given of him by these authors, is as follows.

Firm in his principles, and steady in his views, he very well understood that his power,

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A. R. 711. which was founded upon arms, could only be supported by them. **Ant. C. 41.** Thus he placed all his hopes on his army, and though he felt the justness of the complaints of those whom they had spoiled of their inheritances, he did not at all hearken to them, and contented himself with granting some gentle mitigations. As to the rest, he followed steadily his plan, of putting the soldiers in possession of those lands which had been promised to them. This system was the only one which was truly advantageous to the troops, and consequently the only one capable of attaching to him inviolably his own soldiers, and bringing back to him sooner or later those of Antony, whom they made to act contrary to their proper interest.

His business then was to point out to them the illusion with which they were abused. In order to this, there was nothing more proper, than to propose an explication with his adversaries, to enter into a negotiation with them, and to take the soldiers themselves as arbiters. This Octavius did ; and what made it still more easy for him was, that Lucius's vanity had made him attack the Triumvirate, and undertake to re-establish the consular government. But he was neither disinterested enough, nor had he parts or judgment sufficient to execute such a project. But he did himself honour by it ; advanced that his brother consented to it ; and that since Octavius and Lepidus were obstinate in opposing the good of the Republick, they ought to suffer the punishment of those crimes which they had committed in the exercise of their office.

If these notions of Lucius could have taken place, none would have suffered so much by it as

A. R. 711.
Ant. C. 41.

as the veterans, whose whole fortunes and establishments had no other basis and support than the triumviral power. Octavius put the finishing stroke to gain them over to his interest, by submitting his dispute with Lucius to their arbitration. A number of veterans, with the deputies of some of the Legions, assembled in the Capitol ; and from thence they signified to Lucius, that he must make his complaints to them, and agree to their decision, unless he chose to have them for his enemies. The same was signified to Octavius, who readily submitted to it.

Lucius, at that time, possessed Preneste, having left Rome, where he saw his adversary had the chief power. He assembled troops, always attended by Fulvia, and governed by the influences of that audacious woman. Tho' the order which was intimated to them from the army, displeased them very much, yet they durst not refuse to obey ; and Lucius promised to go to Gabii, a place situated almost at an equal distance between Rome and Preneste, and made choice of on this account, for a trial so extraordinary in all its circumstances.

Octavius rendered himself first at the rendezvous, and immediately detach'd some of his people to reconnoitre the country, in order to see that there was no ambush laid for him. It is very likely that his intention was what actually happened ; for his scouts meeting those which went before Lucius, quarrelled with them, engaged them, and killed some of them. Lucius, frightened at this event, turned back immediately, and it was not possible to persuade him to present himself before the new military tribunal, tho' the principal officers offered to

A. R. 711. ^{Ant. C. 41.} guard and escort him. This obstinate refusal turn'd the minds of the veterans against him ; and as they remembered besides, that Lucius and Fulvia spoke of them with contempt, calling them the *Spacerdash* * *Senate*, they declared themselves loudly for Octavius, and took up arms in his favour.

*The differ-
ence be-
tween the
forces of
Octavius,
and
of Lucius.* Octavius saw himself then very well supported, having on his side, besides his own proper troops, all that multitude of veterans, which was still more formidable by their valour and experience, than by their numbers. Lucius on his side appeared to oppose him with considerable forces, but he had only a precarious authority over the greatest part of them, excepting six legions, which were personally attached to him, because most part of the soldiers who composed them had been raised among the people of Italy, whose cause he defended. As to the rest, he was served but very superficially by the lieutenants and armies of his brother in Italy. They could not easily persuade themselves that Antony would approve of a war against his colleague. Besides the equality between the different chiefs of these armies, rendered them rivals to each other, and divided them. On the other hand all the forces of Octavius, as well those which he commanded in person, as those under the orders of Agrippa and Salvidienus, united by a common attachment to one supreme chief, concurred in the operations of the war, with a harmony extremely advantageous to gain success.

* *Senatum caligatum.* The word *Caliga* signifies the base of the common soldiers.

Thus

Thus he commenced this war with a superiority, which was not counterbalanced by any uncertainty. Only Lucius took the advantage at first of his absence, to re-enter Rome. Octavius was gone to Umbria, with a design to seize a body of troops, commanded by Furnius, one of Antony's lieutenants, and had charged Lepidus to guard the city with two legions. Lucius, whose projects against the Triumviri, had gained him the affections of the most illustrious Senators, and who besides, had to do with such a contemptible adversary as Lepidus, presented himself before the city. He defeated the Triumviri, who went out to meet him, entered Rome, called immediately an assembly of the people, whom he harangued in the military robes, contrary to the constant custom practised before him; and a few days after he returned back, carrying with him the reward of his expedition, the acclamations of the people, and the decree of the Senate: feeble arms against an enemy so powerful and alert as Octavius. He, upon receiving the news that Lucius was master of Rome, made all the haste he possibly could to relieve it, but on his arrival there, he found that he was gone. He took measures to hinder this capital from being surprized for the future, and from thence went to Perusia, where Lucius was already besieged by Salvidienus. The manner in which things were carried to such a length by them was as follows.

Salvidienus, at the head of a good army, *Lucius is* came from Cisalpine Gaul to join Octavius *besieged in* his general, and was pursued by Ventidius and *Perusia by* Pollio, Antony's lieutenants. Lucius *Octavius.* undertook to go before Salvidienus, to enclose him

A. R. 7¹¹. between two armies. But Agrippa, who
Ant. C. 4¹. knew his design, marched immediately after
with a design to enclose Lucius between him
and Salvidienus. Lucius understood the dan-
ger he was in, and changing his scheme, he
wanted at first to re-unite himself to his bro-
ther lieutenants. But finding the difficulty and
risk in that, he took a resolution, dictated
very probably by timidity and inexperience, to
retire under the walls of Perusia, a very
strong town, there to wait in security for Ven-
tidius and Pollio. They, who, as I have said,
entered into Lucius's projects with reluctance,
made no great haste to succour him. On the
contrary Octavius's Lieutenants, active and
ardent to serve their chief, followed Lucius
very close, and began to surround him with
lines and trenches. Octavius himself made
haste to come up to them, for he would not
allow his enemy to escape, who was impru-
dently shut up in a place which he could not
get out of. He resolved to finish the war at
one blow, by taking Perusia and Lucius to-
gether. He assembled all the forces he had
for this decisive enterprize, and ordered all the
troops which were under his command, in the
different parts of Italy, to come up.

The siege was long and troublesome. The
besieged defended themselves vigorously, and
the succours which they called to their as-
sistance, gave a good deal of disquiet to the
besiegers. Lucius made them press all his
brother's lieutenants to come and relieve him,
and Fulvia joined to the solicitations of
Lucius, all the activity of her hatred against
Octavius. She was at Preneste with a number
of Senators and Roman knights, and some
bodies

bodies of troops assembled about her person. A. R. 71^o.
 There she governed with an absolute authority, Ant. C. 41.
 presiding in council, at one time, and at another, Dio.
 haranguing the soldiers with a sword by her side.

She spared nothing in order to save Lucius, Appian.
 for which end she made Ventidius, Pollio, and
 Plancus exert themselves, and if she could have
 communicated to them her vivacity and spirit,
 they would possibly have given Octavius a
 great deal of trouble. He was obliged to leave
 the siege, and to march with Agrippa, in order
 to hinder the junction of the three chiefs
 and their armies, in which he succeeded. At
 his approach Plancus retired to Spoletum,
 Ventidius to Ravenna, and Pollio to Rimini.
 Octavius sent troops against each of them, to
 keep them in awe, while he returned himself
 to press the siege of Perusia, as briskly as
 possible.

Lucius made a great many sallies, but all
 without success. Antony's three lieutenants,
 whom I have just now mentioned, found
 means of re-joining their forces; but being
 stopt by Agrippa and Salvidienus, who march-
 ed in order to meet them, they durst not at-
 tempt to assist Lucius. Mean while the courage
 of the besieged supported them under all their
 defeats, and they would certainly have made
 a very long resistance, if famine had not ren-
 dered their valour useless. As they had by no *A famine*
 means expected a siege in Perusia, they had *in Perusia*.
 consequently made no provisions against it.
 By this means a very great scarcity presently
 arose, in which they took all those precautions,
 even contrary to humanity, which are used in
 the like circumstances. They not only mea-
 sured

A. R. 711. Ant. C. 41. sured out to each person his quantity of provi-
sions, but refused giving any to the slaves, hin-
dering them at the same time from going out
of the town. Thus these miserable wretches
died in the streets, and they threw their bodies
into wells and deep ditches, lest they should
infect the air with their corruption, or, in case
they burnt them, lest the great number of
fires should inform the besiegers of the vast
multitude of those who perished, and the great
misery which they suffered in the place. In
short, they were obliged to yield to necessity,
which has no law; and Lucius having sent some
of his principal officers to capitulate with the
Lucius goes vanquisher, and they not bringing back a fa-
himself to tisfactory answer, he resolved to go and find
find Octa- Octavius himself, to endeavour to engage his
civis, in or- honour by a frank and generous surrender,
der to sur- which might move him to clemency.
render at
discretion.

If we believe Appian's account of this affair, Lucius spoke and acted like a hero. But I find no other writer describe him so much to advantage, and some of them give him a very bad character. Cicero, in his Philippics, treats him with the greatest contempt. Velleius assures us, that he had all the vices of his brother, but did not resemble him in any of his virtues. I therefore continue to have the same opinion of him which I have hitherto expressed, and tho' it is difficult to deny facts so circumstantial as those related by Appian, we may be allowed at least to believe, that the vanity of Lucius, and the confidence which he had, that

* *Vitiorum fratris sui con-* terdum in illo erant, expers.
sors, sed virtutum, quæ in- *Vell. II. 74.*

the brother of Antony would be spared by Octavius, constituted all his heroism on this occasion.

A. R. 712.
Ant. C. 41.

He went out of the Town, and advanced towards the camp of the besiegers, without taking any other precaution, than sending word to Octavius that he was coming to wait upon him. Octavius went to meet him as soon as possible, and there was a struggle betwixt them who should behave with the greatest complaisance. Lucius proposed to enter within the trenches, so that he might put himself intirely in the power of his vanquisher. But Octavius would not allow him, and made haste to go out of his lines, in order that he who demanded peace, might appear to do it freely, and without constraint.

The speech Appian puts into the mouth of Lucius on this occasion, expresses a noble greatness of soul. By it, that unfortunate Chief appeared to be in no pain to justify himself, and was only troubled for those who had attached themselves to him. He reckoned it a great honour to have attempted to abolish the Triumvirate, and to re-establish the Republican government, in prejudice even of his own brother, if he had not found it altogether as equitable to drop that scheme for the good of his country. He gave a full discharge to all those who had followed him, telling them that he had deceived them; in that he had represented things to them in a false light, concluding with offering to deliver himself to the revenge of Octavius, provided his innocent followers might be spared.

Octavius

A. R. 711. Octavius affected generosity in his turn.
Ant. C. 41. **Good ex-** “ You disarm me, says he to Lucius, by the
pressions of “ nobleness and frankness of your manner of
O^{ct}avius, “ acting. If you had pretended to capitulate
who never - “ with me, I should then have been at liberty
the he is or- “ to use the right of a conqueror. But by
ders bloody “ submitting your fortune, together with those
executions. “ of your friends and soldiers to my discre-
 “ tion, you oblige me to consider what is
 “ worthy of myself, and not what you de-
 “ serve ; and your cause cannot prosper bet-
 “ ter, than by being assistant in promoting my
 “ glory.”

These were fine words : But I do not see that in reality the clemency of Octavius went beyond the bounds which policy dictated. He treated Lucius honourably ; because he was too much afraid of Antony to use his brother ill. He inflicted no punishment upon the soldiers, neither the veterans nor others ; because his own troops would have taken it amiss. But as for the people of quality, the Roman senators or knights, whose attachment to the liberty of the ancient government he feared might continue, he gave them no quarter. If any of them went to ask pardon of him, or to excuse themselves, he answered them barbarously, *you must die.* The acknowledgment which he owed to the services that *Canutius had formerly done him against Antony, when he was tribune of the people, could not save the life of that ancient servant and friend, who to be sure was too zealous a republican. In short, they even relate, that out of the number of those who

* I follow Appian and Dio. first victims of the Triumvirate's proscription, according to Velleius II. 54.

Canutius had been one of the

fell under his power upon this occasion, he chose ^{A. R. 711.} ^{Ant. C. 41.} three hundred of the most distinguished to be sacrificed as victims the day of the ides of March, at the foot of an altar erected in honour of Cæsar. It is true, he pretended that he was forced to perform these acts of vengeance, by the clamours of his soldiers. But it was he himself who excited them under hand, and no body was imposed upon by this apparent artifice, Octavius alone remaining charged with the odium of so horrid a butchery. To such inhuman lengths a man of this character is capable of carrying things ; artful and deceitful, regarding nothing but himself, insensible to friendship, favour and pity. He shewed himself here bloody without passion, as he became afterwards beneficent without humanity.

With regard to the city of Perusia, Octavius *The city of Perusia is reduced to ashes by an unforeseen accident.* followed still the same maxim of destroying the heads, and sparing the multitude. The Senators of this unfortunate city were all put to death, excepting one only, who had been one of the judges of Brutus and Cassius at Rome, and distinguished himself by his zeal in condemning them. Octavius's scheme in granting their lives to the rest of the citizens, was to deliver the town to be plunder'd, as a recompence for the soldiers. But an accident, *Vell. II. 74.* which he could not foresee, determined the affair otherwise. Cestius, one of the principal inhabitants of Perusia, a man of an unsound head, resolved, out of a foolish despair, to set fire to his house, and throw himself into the flames, after having first stabbed himself. As the wind happened to be high, the fire communicated itself to the neighbouring houses, and spreading itself gradually, consumed the whole town. *Appian. Octavius*

A. R. 711. Octavius foresaw that the taking of Lucius
 Ant. C. 41. *Lucius's* would put an end to the war. After this de-
 party is ab- cisive blow, all Antony's lieutenants thought
 solutely de- of nothing but flying as fast as they could out
 stroyed in of Italy. Some of them passed into Greece
 Italy. The and the East, to join themselves with their ge-
 flight of Ti. neral, whilst others sought a nearer retreat in
 Nero, the Sicily, under the protection of Sextus Pom-
 husband of peius. Amongst the last, the singularity of the
 Livia, and adventure renders Tiberius Nero, husband to
 father of the emperor. Livia, and father of the emperor Tiberius, the
 or Tiberius. most remarkable. He was constantly attached
 Vell. II. to the Republican party after the death of Cæ-
 75. Suet. Tib. sar, and had served Lucius zealously, as the
 4. only and last resource of liberty. During the
 siege of Perusia, he was in Campania, appoint-
 ed to keep the country in subjection to Lucius.
 After the victory of Octavius, he strove still
 to make some resistance himself, and in order
 to augment his forces, he went so far as to
 offer liberty to the slaves who should follow
 him. Surprised at the diligence of Octavius,
 who marched towards him, he took the reso-
 lution of saving himself in Sicily. This was
 not to be done without some difficulty. He
 carried with him his wife, and his son Tiberius,
 who was not then full two years of age, and
 still at the breast. Being obliged to conceal his
 march, in order to escape those who were search-
 ing for him, he was twice afraid of being dis-
 covered by the cries of the child, which one day
 was to be successor to him whose vengeance was
 at that time so terrible to his whole family.

Appian. Thus all Italy acknowledged the authority
 of Octavius. However, there still remained
 on the side of the Alps, an army consisting of
 several legions, under the command of Cale-
 nus,

nus, who dying at that juncture, Octavius A. R. 711.
very easily brought over to him those legions Ant. C. 41.
which had lost their commander. Fufius, a
son of him who was lately dead, gave them
himself up to Octavius.

It may easily be judged what confusion and *The flight
rage* Fulvia must be in, when she saw all her *and death
projects* disappointed, all her efforts rendered
useless, and him whom she hated escape victo-
rious and triumphant from all the snares which *Plut. Ant.*
she had laid for him. She went into Greece
to conceal her shame and malice, and wrote
very melancholy letters to Antony, who was
then at Alexandria, already enchanted, as we
shall presently see, with the seducing charms of
Cleopatra. He came to her, and having learn-
ed that the principal cause of the war of Pe-
rusia was the jealousy and intriguing spirit of
Fulvia, he used her very roughly, and depart-
ing for Italy, he left her ill at Cicyon, where
she died with grief very soon after.

Her death, which was occasioned by a spite-
ful rage, corresponds perfectly well with the
conduct of her whole life; and what we have
related of her, discovers what a just picture
Plutarch has drawn of her, when he says,
that ¹ she was not a woman made to confine
herself to her distaff, and to manage a family.
It was not sufficient for her even to govern a
husband who was of the common rank; she
must have one, who commanded others, to obey

* Οὐ ταλασίαν, ἀδὲ ὀικε- φύλεια τῆς Ἀιγαίας γυναικο-
ρίαν φροντὶ γύναισι, ἀδὲ ἄνδρος χρεατίας ὄφείλειν, πάντα χει-
ριώτατα χρεῖται αξιέσι, ἀλλ' ἄρχοντας ἄρχειν, καὶ σεβα- ξεντῆς ἄκροστος γυναικῶν
γεντας σεβατηγενεῖς θελόμενοι. παραλαβεῖσας ἀντει. *Plut.*
πότε Κλεοπάτρας διδασκάλια *Ant.*

her,

A. R. 711. her, and the general of an army to acknowledge her for his chief. Thus Cleopatra was
 Ant. C. 41. very much obliged to Fulvia, of whom Anthony had learned to be governed by a woman. She received him from the hands of a high-spirited wife, quite formed to the yoke, and accustomed to bear it of a long time. Fulvia had for her first husband Clodius, who was killed by Milo; after him Curio, who perished in Africa; and her third husband was Anthony.

Julia, the mother of Antony, of capes to Sicily, where Sextus Pompeius obliges her to pass into Greece Julia, Antony's mother, a lady of a very different character from Fulvia, and still more respectable on account of her virtue, and her rank and high birth, thought it was not proper to stay in Italy after her son's party was destroyed; and tho' she had certainly nothing to fear from Octavius, she chose rather to trust herself to Sextus Pompeius, and pass into Sicily. Sextus received her very honourably, and gave her an escort of several vessels to conduct her into Greece.

Lucius is sent into Spain with the title of Proconsul. Octavius kept Lucius with him for some time under a good guard, which passed however as a retinue, that attended him out of respect. But he presently found himself embarrassed with such a prisoner in Italy, and therefore he sent him into Spain with the title of Proconsul, but without any real authority. All the power was lodged in the hands of his Lieutenants Sex, Peduceus and Carrinas, who were to be answerable to Octavius for his person and conduct. After this time history makes no more mention of Lucius Antonius.

The taking of Perusia, and the consequences of it above-mentioned, come under the year when Domitius Calvinus was Consul for the second

second time, together with Pollio. But before we finish the account of the events of this year, we must return to the preceding, and follow Antony in his journeys in Greece and the East, after the battle of Philippi.

His conduct in Greece gained him entirely the affections of all people. He was pleased to hear himself called a lover of the Grecians, and especially of the Athenians. He decided debates, and ruled affairs with equity and gentleness. His amusements had also something of popularity in them ; and the Grecians were charmed to see him assist at their shews, hear the lectures of their men of letters and philosophers, and initiate himself in their mysteries.

Asia, whither he went the first favourable season, made him quite another person, or rather awaked in him all the vices to which he was inclined. The riches and pleasures of this delightful country, a numerous court of kings, who worshipped him fervilely, and of queens, who strove who should please him the most ; in a word, all the allurements of pleasure and grandeur united together, intoxicated his reason, and plunged him again into those debauches, which business and dangers had for some time suspended. He abandoned himself more than ever to the pleasures of feasting, and to companions ill becoming a person of so high a rank. He was constantly surrounded with musicians, dancers, players, and all sorts of men whose business it is to enervate and corrupt the manners. Asia furnished him with persons of that stamp, still more able, and better vers'd in this pernicious art, than those who had followed him from Italy. They engross'd his whole affection, and governed his court. Avaricious

A. R. 711.
Ant. C. 41.

*Antony's
mild and
popular con-
duct in
Greece.*

*ries of Asia
plunge him
into debau-
chery.*

A. R. 711. ricious as well as profligate, they took advan-
 A. R. C. 41. tage of his prodigality to consume immense
 sums, which were raised from the people by
 Strabo. I. the most rigorous methods. A player on the
 XIV. flute, named Anaxenor, was charged with the
 gathering the tribute of four cities, having
 soldiers under him to execute his orders ;
 Plot. and a cook having succeeded in pleasing An-
 tony's taste at a feast, received as a reward
 the house and goods of a rich citizen of Mag-
 nesia.

*Rejoicing in one part, and mourn-
 ing in another, in Asia.* Hence it happened that Asia, at the same
 time rung with the noise and preparations of
 the most magnificent and extravagant feasts in
 one part, and groans and lamentations in the
 other. When he made his entry into Ephesus
 the women dress'd themselves like Bacchanals,
 and the men and children like Satyrs and
 Fawns, and in this odd dress they gamboll'd
 before him. The town was fill'd with festoons
 of ivy and thirses, and with concerts, vocal
 and instrumental, singing the praises of An-
 tony, whom they called a new Bacchus, bene-
 ficient and gracious. He shewed himself really
 such with regard to some of them, but the
 greatest part found him rough, cruel, and
 severe. He took away the estates from people
 of distinction, to bestow them upon his meanest
 servants and flatterers. They asked and ob-
 tained of him the spoil of persons alive, which
 they passed upon him for dead. In short, he
 demanded of the people of Asia double the
 tribute which Brutus and Cassius had imposed
 upon them.

Upon this last article Hybreas, one of the
 most famous Orators of that time, made repre-
 sentations to him in the name of all Asia, of
 which

which Plutarch has preserved to us an in- A. R. 711.
genious specimen, and in the taste of that brilliant and popular eloquence, which was extremely pleasing to Antony. " If you will Ant. C. 41.
" take from us, says he, two tributes in one
" year, you must give us two springs and
" two autumns in the same period of time."
Upon another occasion, the same orator spoke
to him very boldly, and cut him to the quick.
After two hundred thousand talents furnished *Thirty*
by Asia, Antony demanded still new contri- *seven mil-*
butions. Hibreas had the courage to say to *lion five*
him on this subject; " If you have not re- *hundred*
" ceived that which we have given, make *and ninety*
" those who have the management of your *sand four*
" finances give an account of it; but if you *bundred*
" have received it, and already consumed it, *pounds after-*
" we are infallibly ruin'd."

This expression of Hybreas made a strong *The simpli-*
impression upon Antony, who was ignorant, *city and*
for the most part, of things that passed, less *gentleness*
out of negligence, as Plutarch imagines, than *of Antony's*
out of a simplicity of character, which made *character,*
him trust too much to those who were about *the cause*
him. For he was mild and of an open be- *of both*
haviour, and if he was not quick in observing *good and*
those grievances, and acts of injustice, which *evil effects.*
were authorized by his name, at least when he
was informed of them, he regretted them
sincerely, and own'd them frankly, even to the
sufferers themselves. Recompencing very li-
berally, and punishing with rigour, he ex-
ceeded the bounds of moderation more in the
distribution of favours, than in the inflicting
of punishments. We must not be surprized
then, that many of those who had carried arms
against him, having taken courage to implore

A. R. 711. his clemency during his stay in Asia, received
 Ant. C. 41. the good effects of it; and, among others, the brother of Cassius. If there were any to whom he would not grant a pardon, it was in cases very particular and extremely unfavourable; especially he thought himself obliged, not to spare any of those who had had a hand in the conspiracy against Cæsar. On the contrary, those towns or nations, whose attachment to the memory of that great man, and those who avenged his death, had brought upon them rigorous usage from Brutus and Cassius, received acknowledgments from Anthony, and were loaded with his favours. Among this number were the Rhodians, the Lycians, the towns of Xanthus, Tarsus, and Jof. Ant. Laodicea in Syria; and in short, the state of XIV. the Jews, which Herod and Phasaæl, sons of 23. & 23. Antipater of Idumea, governed at that time, under the name of Hircania. Herod found an avow'd protector in Anthony, by whom he was supported against all his enemies; in consequence of which he engaged himself heartily in his interest, and continued faithful to him, as we shall see afterwards, even to the last extremity.

Plut. Anthony's good nature and easiness of temper, were carried in private conversation to an indecent familiarity. He loved to joke with those whom he admitted to his parties of pleasure, and allowed them the same liberties which he took himself; being no less pleased to see himself the object of laughter, than to laugh at the expence of others; upon which Plutarch makes an observation, which appears to me very judicious, and at the same time very

very ingenious. He ² alledges that that licence of ^{A. R. 731.} ^{Ant. C. 41.} raillery, which Antony allowed to those who were about him, hurt his affairs very much; for not imagining that those who used such freedoms with him in their pleasantries, would flatter him when they spoke seriously, he easily became a dupe to their praises. He was ignorant, that able courtiers know how to mix freedom with flattery, as an agreeable seasoning, which prevents satiety; and that by the boldness of their prating when they are merry in company, they so order it, that their approbation and pliantness does not seem at all to be the effect of complaisance, but of that conviction and submission which they cannot refuse to superior geniuses.

Such a man was Antony, and in this manner he laid the foundation of his ruin. *The origin of his passion for Cleopatra.* This was render'd inevitable by his passion for Cleopatra, which roused and brought to light a great many vices which were before concealed, and, if I may use the expression, lay asleep as it were at the botom of his soul; and banished every thing good that remained in him. The manner in which he fell into the snare of that Egyptian enchantress, was as follows.

I have already observed, that Serapion had ^{Plin.} ^{Ap.} furnished some succours to Cassius from the pian. island of Cyprus. It seems there were some

• Τέτο διελυμήτατο τολλά τρῶ τραγυμάτων. τὰς γὰρ ἐν τῷ παίζειν παρέποσιαζομένας ἐκ ἀν ὀιηθεὶς σπεδάζοντας κολακέντιν αὐτὸν, ἀλίσκειο ἔρδινες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπάνων αἴγνοων ὅτι τὴν παρέποσιαν τινὲς ὡς ὑπότινφοι πένσησαν τῇ κολακείᾳ.

παρεμπιγνύεις, ἀφίεται τὸ πλήσιον, τῇ παρὰ τὴν κύλικα θρασύτην καὶ λαλιῶ διαμηχανώμενοι τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν τραγυμάτων ἐφεστι καὶ συγκαταθίσιν, μὴ πρὸς χάριν ὀμιλεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷ φροτεῖν ἡττωμένων, φαινεῖσθαι.

A. R. 7th. reasons for rendering the Queen of Egypt responsible for the conduct of the governor of an island, which depended upon that crown. It was doubtless on this account that Antony, when he was preparing to march against the Parthians, who had made an irruption into Syria, sent orders to Cleopatra to come to him, to clear herself of a reproach of having favoured his enemies. Her cause was very good, for it is very probable that Serapion did not act by her orders, nor even acknowledge her authority. And, with regard to herself, she had given proofs of her attachment to Cæsar's party, by the succours she had sent to Dolabella, as I have already mentioned, and by a fleet put to sea to assist the Triumviri in the war against Brutus and Cassius. But she did not stand in need of any apology.

Plut. Dellius, who was charged to bring her into Cilicia, no sooner saw her than he was convinced, that so tempting a woman had nothing to fear from Antony, and that, on the contrary, by her beauty, gracefulness, and especially by her address and engaging behaviour, she must certainly obtain a very great influence over him. Thus instead of assuming any authority over her, he studied to make his court to her, and advised her not in the least to fear Antony, who was the most good-natured and humane of all mankind.

Cleopatra, encouraged by what Dellius had told her, and still more by the experience which she had had of the power of her * charms

* Appian says, that Antony and Cleopatra, when he went into Egypt with Gabinius in order

charms over the eldest son of Pompey, and likewise over Cæsar, promised the more chearfully to submit to Antony. For at the time of these first intrigues she was very young, and quite unexperienced in affairs ; whereas she was now in the twenty-seventh year of her age, and consequently in the stage of life when the charms of the body, and the talents of the mind, are the most brilliant. She prepared then rich presents for Antony and his friends ; and took with her large sums of money, and the most precious jewels. In a word, she supplied herself with whatever the wealth of a great and powerful kingdom could furnish her ; but placing her chief hopes on herself, and the bewitching charms which she had but too great a share of, she set out with an entire confidence ; and tho' she received upon the road a great many couriers, and repeated orders to make haste, she did not in the least hurry herself on their account, and seem'd to have so little regard to the Roman general, that, accused as she was, she made the most magnificent and gallant entry that can possibly be imagined into Tarsus, where Antony was at that time.

The city of Tarsus was divided by the river Cydnus; which, two or three leagues below, discharged itself into the sea. It was by this river that Cleopatra chus'd to enter. *The magnificent and gallant entry of that princess into Tarsus, where Antony was.* She was seated in a barge, the stern of which was cover'd with gold, the sails of purple, large and floating in the wind, and the oars of

order to re-establish Ptolemy was at that time only thirteen Auleius. But this is hardly years old, an age very improbable, because Cleopatra per force raising that passion.

A. R. 711. silver, which kept time to the sound of flutes
 Ant. C. 41. and guitars. She herself lay reclin'd on a
 heaven, spangled with stars of gold, with such
 ornaments as the poets and painters give to
 Venus. On each side were young children,
 such as they paint the loves, who fan'd her
 with handerchiefs. The most beautiful of
 her women, dress'd like Nereids and Graces,
 were placed, some at the helm, and others
 about the cordage. And upon the banks of
 the river they burnt the most exquisite per-
 fumes. Such a magnificent appearance drew
 a prodigious croud together. Some from the
 mouth of the river accompanied the barge,
 others flock'd out of the town to meet them,
 so that the place where Antony gave audience
 was deserted, and he left alone seated upon his
 Tribunal. They thought of nothing but go-
 ing to see Venus, as they said, who was come
 to visit the new Bacchus, and render all Asia
 happy.

*For mutual
 entertain-
 ment's be-
 tween
 Cleopatra
 and An-
 tony.* When Cleopatra was arrived, Antony sent
 to invite her to supper. She answer'd, that
 she rather wished to have the honour of re-
 ceiving him as her guest; and the general,
 not being willing to begin with a refusal, and
 valuing himself upon being polite and oblig-
 ing, promised to wait upon her. The enter-
 tainment was magnificent, and the apartment
 decorated in the most elegant manner. But
 what struck Antony most, was the number and
 fine disposition of the lights, which were
 almost without number, but very orderly dis-
 posed, forming designs, and representations
 of different figures. Here disposed in square,
 and there in circles, so that they had a charming
 effect,

effect, and afforded a delightful entertainment A. R. 711.
Ant. C. 41. to the eye.

According to an antient writer, quoted by Athen. Atheneus, Cleopatra added large gifts to that IV. 11. elegance, and pomp. She repeated her entertainment several times, and always in a new taste, and with new ornaments, giving Anthony each time all the equipage of the feast, that is to say, all the vessels of gold adorned with precious stones, with which the side-boards were ornamented, and the tapestry, and cloths of purple embroider'd with gold, which served to decorate the apartment. To his friends, a great number of which he took with him, since there were twelve tables surrounded with three couches each, and therefore must amount to one hundred and eight persons at least; I say, to all that great number of guests, she made very rich presents. Upon them she bestowed the couches on which they had supped, and the vessels of gold in which they had been served. When they retired, she made presents to the most distinguish'd amongst them, of litters, with people to carry them; to others, she presented horses, very richly harness'd; and to all of them, young Ethiopian slaves, to carry torches before them. The author above mention'd likewise relates, that at the third entertainment, which Cleopatra gave to Anthony, she made them strew with roses all the floor of the hall a cubit thick.

Antony treated her in his turn, and at- Plut. tempted to surpass her in magnificence and taste, but not being able to succeed, and falling far short of hers in every respect, he was the first that turned into raillery, the rustic

A. R. 711. simplicity of his equipage, compar'd to that
Ant. C. 41. of Cleopatra.

The charms of Cleopatra's mind were more seducing than those of her beauty. The artful Egyptian immediately enter'd into the humour of him, whom she wanted to gain, and having observ'd that Antony's pleasantries were not very delicate, but in the military strain, she entertained him in his own way; and with a free, easy air, full of assurance, diverted him in such a manner, as to shew herself no more delicate than he.

It was by this dexterity, and the charms of her wit, that she was sure to please, for her beauty was by no means extraordinary, or capable of making conquests. But nothing could be more engaging, or enchanting, than the charms of her conversation, which carried with them always an almost inevitable sedulement. The very tone of her voice had a delightful sweetness; and Plutarch compares her tongue to an instrument of many strings, with melodies diversified a thousand different ways. For whereas her predecessors, rendered quite stupid with indolence and pleasure, could not even speak the Egyptian language, and some of them had forgot their own Macedonian dialect: Cleopatra gave audience to all the neighbouring nations, without the help of an interpreter. Hebrews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians, Ethiopians and Troglodytes, had all the satisfaction to hear her speak their own language, as free and easy as they could do themselves.

She subdues Antony. Antony was not made to resist such powerful charms; he did not so much as attempt to arm himself against them. On the contrary, he yielded himself up to them with all his soul. From the judge, he became the conquest and slave

slave of Cleopatra, and that artful princess, A. R. 711.
Ant. C. 41.
who knew how to excite love, without suffering herself from that passion, began to make use of that sway she had gained over Antony, by causing him to confirm to her the free and peaceable possession of the kingdom of Egypt.

Very soon after the death of Cæsar, she *She makes* had taken care, as I said before, to get rid *use of her* of her brother, who enjoyed the throne with *power over* *Antony, to* her. But Arsinoe, her sister, was still alive, *confirm to* and tho' she was obliged to shut herself up in *herself the* the temple of * Diana at Ephesus, and to owe *possession of* *Egypt.* her safety entirely to that sanctuary, yet she *Egypt.* still gave her umbrage. Cleopatra therefore *Josep. XV.* *4. & Ap-* obtain'd an order from Antony to take Arsinoe *pian.* by force out of the temple, and to put her to death. Even the priest of Diana, who paid honours and respect to that unfortunate princess, run a great risk of his life, if the Ephesians, by their most humble supplications had not appeased the wrath of the queen of Egypt. The sacred rights of an unviolable sanctuary were no more regarded with respect to Serapion, than they had been with regard to Arsinoe, whose interests I am afraid he had espoused. He was taken out of the temple of Hercules, at Tyre, and deliver'd to Cleopatra, who found by his death her vengeance satisfied, and at the same time, a justification towards Antony, for the succours sent to Cassius. In short, she oblig'd the inhabitants of a small island of Syria, named Aradus, to deliver up to her a young man, who pretended to be the eldest brother of

* Appian calls it the temple of Diana Leucophrini, at Miletum. The difference is not material.

Cleopatra,

A. R. 71¹. Cleopatra, formerly vanquish'd by Cæsar, and
Ant. C. 4¹. happily escaped from the battle, according to the story which he told ; tho' the common report made him pass for dead.

She returns to Alexandria, and Antony presently follows her. Cleopatra having thus obtain'd of Antony all that she desired, set out to return to Egypt, leaving in the heart of the Roman general a sting, which would soon make him follow her. In short, instead of marching according to his first design, against the Parthians who assembled their forces in Mesopotamia, he contented himself with marching thro' Syria, and deciding hastily those affairs which were referred to him ; and after having tried without success, to insult and plunder the town of Palmyra, he sent his forces into winter quarters, appointed Decidius Saxa to command them in his absence, and presently flew to where his heart called him, I mean to Alexandria.

The childhood, amusements and extravagances of Antony There amusing himself, idly, like a thoughtless boy, who minds nothing else but pleasure, he lost and squandered away in trifling amusements, the most precious of all enjoyments, which is time. He formed a society of pretended *Members of the inimitable Life*, which was the title they took, and the rule was to entertain one another with profusions which surpass all belief. I shall insert one instance, which will help us to form an idea of it.

Lamprias, Plutarch's grandfather, was told by the physician Phylotas, who was young at that time, and happen'd to be at Alexandria to learn his profession, that having made an acquaintance with one of the chief persons in Antony's kitchen, he was invited by him to come

come and see the preparations for one of these suppers. He went then into the kitchens, and was surprised to find, besides a very great quantity of other meat, eight wild boars upon the spit. He thence concluded that the company must be very numerous. “ Not at all,” said his friend, laughing at his surprise, “ there will not be above twelve at table. But every thing must be roasted to a turn, for a moment more or less is capable of spoiling it. Now it may happen that Antony may call for supper immediately, or in a short time, or perhaps he may defer it a good while, being amused with wine or some agreeable subject of conversation. On this account we must not make ready one supper alone, but several, because it is impossible for us to guess the moment he will sup.”

Philotas told him another story of a different nature, but which equally proves the prodigality of Antony. He said, that being engaged in making his court to the eldest of Antony’s sons by Fulvia, he was sometimes admitted to his table with other Greeks ; as the young gentleman did not eat with his father, being only a child. At one of these repasts, among the rest of the guests, there happened to be a physician, who fatigued the whole company with his learned nonsense. Philotas silenced him by a sophism, which he desir’d him to resolve. “ There is, says he, a certain fever in which it is proper to give cold water to the patient. Every fever is a certain fever ; therefore in every fever you ought to give cold water to the patient.” The prating doctor must have forgot

A. R. 71¹. forgot his sylogistic rules, not to discover, at
Apt. C. 4¹ first sight, the fallacy of this syllogism. However it was, he had nothing to answer, but remained quite confounded. This little adventure was extremely pleasing to young Anthony, who laughed very heartily at it, and wanting to recompence him, whom he was so well pleased with; Philotas, said he, I will give you all that you see before you, shewing him a side-board cover'd with vessels of gold. Philotas testified his gratitude, and returned him a great many thanks, but was far from thinking that a child of that age, would be allowed to make a present of such importance. Mean while, upon taking his leave, an officer brought him all the plate inclosed in a bag, and asked him to put his seal upon the mouth of the bag, that nothing might be taken out of it. Philotas started back surprised, and refused to take a present of so great a value. " You are very simple, Sir, replied the officer; " you do not know then, that Antony's son " can make more considerable presents than " that you are surprised at. However, if I " may offer you my advice, you will take " money instead of the plate, because there is " some of them antique, and very curiously " wrought, which Antony may possibly call " for again." It is plain enough that so extraordinary a profusion committed to his son, who was but a chid, must be owing to the father. But we must not allow ourselves to be deceived by a false appearance of bounty and generosity: this is not to give, but to squander away.

During Antony's first stay at Alexandria, Cleopatra had the address to captivate him entirely.

She made use of every method that could be thought of to flatter him. Whether he was engaged in amusements, or serious affairs, she always contrived some new pleasure to divert him, never leaving him night nor day. For she constantly kept him company at games, at table, and in his parties of hunting. If he was employed in any military exercise, she assisted at it, at least as a spectator. She followed him even in the town, when he went disguised during the night, in order to divert himself by standing at the doors and windows, talking facetiously to the people who were within. For Antony had a taste for these kinds of low diversions, which people of distinction are sometimes foolishly fond of, being weary of ordinary and natural pleasures, which pall, by being so frequently repeated. Dressed like a slave, with Cleopatra disguised after the same manner, he spent whole nights in running about the streets of Alexandria, teasing every body that he could find to talk to, striving to put them out of humour by scurrilous jests, and was always repaid with repartees, and frequently with blows. He imposed upon every body with it at first, but afterwards when they knew that he diverted himself in this manner, the Alexandrians entered very willingly into the humour of it. They contrived and acted merry scenes on purpose, which likewise diverted themselves, and said, that Antony acted the Tragedian with the Romans, and the Comedian with them.

To give a detail of all the amusements of Antony with Cleopatra, would be unworthy of history. However the following adventure deserves,

A. R. 711. deserves, I think, to be mention'd, as having
 Ant. C. 41. a good deal of spirit in it.

Once as he was diverting himself with angling in the Nile, but with very bad success, it was mortifying to him to be disappointed in presence of the queen. He gave orders therefore for some divers to plunge into the water, and fasten ~~a fish~~, which had been catched before, to his hook. This trick could not be repeated again without Cleopatra's perceiving it. However she feign'd to be very much surprised, and engaged a new party for angling the next day, informing them of the trick which he had made use of. They went thither in great numbers, on board of barges, attentive to what was to happen. Antony who had no suspicion of being discovered, having thrown his line, the divers, by Cleopatra's order, fastened a salt fish to it. He felt the motion, and, thinking he had hold of his prey, pulled the line out of the water. You may easily judge what mirth this salt fish of Antony's occasion'd. Cleopatra however made him a very artful compliment upon it. "Sire," said she, yield that diversion to us sovereigns of Pharos and Canope. As for you, your fish, and your game, are towns, whole nations, and empires."

* Παράδος ἡμῖν τὸις καλλιμοι, αὐτοκρατορ, τοῖς Φαρίταις καὶ Καιονίταις βασιλεύσιν· οὐδὲ σὴ θύρα, πόλεις οἵσι καὶ, βασιλεῖς οὐδὲπερ. Plut. Ant.

§ II.

The necessity of Antony's affairs calls him into Italy. He is courted by Sextus Pompeius. The power of Sextus. The marriage of Octavius with Scribonia, the sister of Libo, father-in-law of Sextus. Domitius Abenobarbus joins his fleet to that of Antony. Antony is refused entrance into Brundusium. He besieges the town. Dispositions for a peace. The negotiation of Cocceius Nerva. A treaty concluded between Octavius and Antony, by Mecenas, Pollio, and Cocceius. Antony's marriage with Octavia. A small triumph decreed to the two generals. Salvidienus is condemned for his treachery to Octavius, and kills himself. Canidius and Balbus substituted in the Consulship, in the room of Pollio and Domitius. The fortune of Balbus. The triumph of Pollio. His great learning. The triumph of Calvinus. His severity, with regard to discipline. Herod declared king of Judea. The Falcidian law. The death of Dejotarus. His commendable qualities. His cruelty to his family. Changes in the Consulship. No more annual Consuls. Confusion and disorder in all the States. Rome and Italy famished by Sextus. An insurrection of the people against the Triumviri. A furious tumult, where Octavius runs a risk of his life, and is delivered by Antony. A feast given by Octavius; a new subject of complaint. Octavius consents to a negotiation with Sextus. Sextus yields to it, contrary to his inclinations. A conference between the three generals. Conditions of the treaty. The extreme joy which this peace occasion'd. The three chiefs enterain

one another by turns. An expression of Sextus to Antony. A remarkable instance of his generosity, in rejecting the advice of Menas. Antony is out of humour at losing at all kinds of games against Octavius. He leaves Italy and arrives at Alba. His popular behaviour with the Albaniens. They treat him as a new Bacchus. The dowry he demands of them for his marriage with Minerva.

A. R. 712.
A. v. C. 40.

CX. DOMITIUS CALVINUS II.
C. ASINIUS POLLIO.

The necessity of Antony's affairs calls him into Italy.

WHILE Antony was entirely engaged in those childish diversions, and fallen into a kind of lethargy with regard to affairs, he was rous'd from his indolence and negligence, by two very disagreeable pieces of news. He was informed on the one hand, of the troubles of Italy, and the Perusian war; and on the other, of the entry of Labienus into Syria, at the head of an army of Parthians. This irruption of Labienus, of which I shall give an account elsewhere, appear'd to him the most pressing. He advanced as far as Tyre, with a design of repelling the Parthians; but letters which he had received from Fulvia, half blotted out with her tears, called him towards the West. He arrived in Greece, and being informed of what had pass'd in Italy, he was in a great passion with Fulvia, as I have already related, and at the same time extremely troubled at the increase of Octavius's power.

He is courted by Sextus Pompeius.

Ap. Dio.

In those circumstances he was pleased to find himself courted by Sextus Pompeius. He had formerly been obliged to him for having given refuge

refuge to his mother Julia ; and his interest being joined to this motive of honour, he gave a very kind reception to Libo, who, under pretence of bringing back his mother, came to propose to him a treaty of friendship and alliance with Sextus his son-in-law. Antony, however, conducted himself very prudently, and thought that he ought not to break with Octavius abruptly ; but he promised to Libo, that if he should be obliged to make war against Octavius, he would accept Sextus's proposal ; and that if, on the contrary, their differences should be amicably determined, he would certainly take care to reconcile him with his colleague.

A. R. 71.
Ant. C. 43.

Sextus at this time had a great deal of sway. *The power of Sextus.* Placed between the two Chiefs of the victorious party, it was a kind of triumph for him to make himself be considered by Antony, and feared by Octavius. His power had increased considerably, during the time that the war against Brutus and Cassius, employed all the forces of the avengers of Cæsar's death. He made himself entire master of Sicily, of which he possessed only a part at first ; and had put to death Bithynicus, governor of that island, whom he accused of having plotted against his life. Statius Murcus, after the battle of Philippi, had brought to him, as I said before, a powerful reinforcement. He had also subdued Sardinia ; so that with a very numerous and warlike fleet, he was master of the whole sea between Italy and Africa. This situation was exceeding favourable, and he became extremely proud upon it, even so much as to style himself, the son of Neptune, as renewing the naval glory of his father, and possessing the hereditary

A. R. 7th.
Ant. C. 40. tary empire of the seas. In the mean time he owed his rise, in a great measure, to fortunate incidents, and he had, by no means, all the qualities which were necessary in order to reap a solid and lasting advantage from it. Velleius ² describes him to us as brave, active, and eager, of a quick imagination, faithful to his engagements, as much as his father had been deficient in that point, but of a rough behaviour, which appeared even in his speech ; allowing himself to be governed by his servants, and, to make use of the historian's expression, the freedman of his freedmen, and the slave of his slaves. He envied those who were above him, and obeyed those below him. In short, those in whom he confided the most, and whom he put at the head of his squadrons and fleets, were men who had been made free, the most famous of whom was * Menas, whom Horace has immortalized by the emphatical description which he has given of his pride and insolence, an eternal object of indignation and contempt. Statius Murcus, a man of courage, and of a high spirit, could not submit to so shameful a yoke, nor bend to a favourite so lately a slave. This cost him his life. For they ac-

* *Hic ad'escens erat stu-
di's rudes, fermone barba-
rus, impetu strenuus, manu
promptus, cogitatione celer,
fide patri diffimilimus, li-
bertorum suorum libertus,
servorumque servus, specio-
fis invidens ut pareret hu-
millimus. Vell. II. 73.*

* *I have followed the com-
mon and ancient interpretation
of that ode of Horace, which I*

*have quoted, tho' an able com-
mentator, has lately attempted
to render it doubtful. Some
difficulties which he finds in
applying to Menas, certain cir-
cumstances of this little satiri-
cal ode, do not appear to me suf-
ficient to prevail over the au-
thority of manuscripts and an-
cient scholiasts, who point out
the freedman of Sextus to be
the person here meant.*

cused him of treachery, and under that pre- A. R. 711.
Ant. C. 40. tence he was put to death.

Such a man was Sextus Pompeius, whose union with Antony, if it had been confirmed, might have become fatal to Octavius. By joining their sea forces, they would have amounted to five hundred sail, and thus it would have been easy for them to have invested Italy, if I may be allowed to use the expression, and to starve it ; and Octavius, powerful in legions, having forty in his service, but quite destitute of vessels, must have seen himself reduced to the greatest extremity, and obliged to submit to them.

He tried to gain Sextus, and in order to *The marriage* pave the way for a reconciliation with him, he *age of Octavius with Scribonia*, contrived to make an alliance with his father-in-law. Mæcenas was charged on the part of *the sister of Libo, father-in-law of Sextus.* marriage Scribonia the sister of Libo, who being charmed at the thoughts of joining to the quality of father-in-law to Sextus, that of brother-in-law to Octavius, very willingly consented to it. The marriage was agreed upon, and Octavius espoused Scribonia, tho' she was a great deal older than he, and had been already married to two men of consular dignity, by one of whom she had children. Mean time the peace could not be concluded, and Octavius seeing himself obliged to make head against Antony and Sextus both at once, began by ridding himself of Lepidus, whom he suspected, and made him be satisfied to depart to his government of Africa with six legions, which having formerly belonged to Antony, preserved still an attachment for their ancient general. It was also at this time that he sent Lucius, the

A. R. 711. brother of Antony, into Spain, under pretence
 Act. C. 40. of making him Proconsul of that great pro-
 vince.

Domitius In the mean time Antony, having departed
*Ahenobar-
 bus in his
 fleet to
 Italy.* from the island of Corcyra, at the head of two
 hundred sail, advanced towards Brundusium.
 He met in his passage Domitius Ahenobarbus,
 who came to join him with all his fleet, which
 was very considerable. Domitius had pre-
 served under his command a great part of the
 naval forces formerly assembled by Brutus and
 Cassius; and his first plan was, as I have be-
 fore mentioned, to keep himself independent
 of any party. But very soon finding that
 scheme to be impracticable, he consented to the
 proposal which Pollio had made to him, of at-
 taching himself to Antony, and acknowledg-
 ing him as chief. The agreement was made,
 but the question was whether it would be kept.
 When the time of putting it in execution ap-
 proached, several of Antony's friends appre-
 hended, that bold as Domitius was, and be-
 sides remembering not only his being proscri-
 bed, but condemned under the title of one of
 Cæsar's murderers; either from the motive of
 pride or fear, he would hardly think it proper
 to put himself in the power of one of the Tri-
 umviri. Iancus especially, who valued him-
 self upon his prudence, at the sight of the
 least danger, press'd Antony not to trust him,
 but to stop his course, till he was fully assured
 of the dispositions of Domitius.

But Antony, tho' he had no more than five
 vessels with him, with which he advanced be-
 fore the rest of the fleet, rejected this timorous
 council, declaring that he chose rather to perish
 by the perfidy of another, than to save his life

at the expence of being branded with timidity. A. R. 711.
Ant. C. 40. Presently the two admirals gallies approached each other, and Antony's lictor, standing on the prow, ordered Domitius's men to strike their flag, which was immediately obeyed. Domitius then came to the side of Antony's galley, and went on board. In the mean time the troops saluted the Triumvir as general, and Plancus recovered his fright. Afterwards Antony, with this new reinforcement, went to present himself before Brundusium.

Octavius kept in this town a garison of five Cohorts, the commanding officer of which refused to admit Antony, under pretence that he brought with him Domitius, who had always been an enemy to Cæsar and his party. *Antony is refused entrance into Brundusium. He besieges the town.* Antony, offended at this, besieged Brundusium, and invited Sextus to make a descent upon Italy; which was executed. Octavius, on his part, assembled his troops to relieve the besieged town, and prepared to force the lines of Antony.

It was thought at that time, that a storm *Dispositions for a peace.* was just at hand, which would renew all the mischiefs which were hardly quieted. Hostilities were really commenced, but very inconsiderable. Among the three Chiefs who entered into this war, the weakest of them only, that is to say, Sextus, had a hearty inclination to it. The two Triumviri were afraid of themselves; and their soldiers, whose power was exorbitant in these troublefome times, and who gave laws even to their generals, were no ways disposed to fight against one another. They looked upon themselves as united by the same cause, and constituting only one body. Besides this general motive, the troops of Octa-

^{A. R. 711.} vius had a particular one, from the fear and respect which they bore to Antony, as the author of the victory at Philippi ; and those of Antony, on their side, were not pleased with their Chiefs uniting his interest with exiles, and proscribed persons. While these things were in agitation, Fulvia, whom her husband had left ill at Cicyon, happening to die, this event opened a way for a pacification. The negotiation was first begun by Cocceius Nerva, a common friend of both the Triumviri ; and Appian gives us, upon this subject, an account, which appears to me to be taken from some ancient record, and for this reason deserves to be presented to the reader, at least an abridgment of it.

*For nego-
tiation of
Cocceius
Nerva.*

Cocceius had been sent the year before to Antony in Phenicia, about some affairs which we are ignorant of, and had remained with him until the time I am now speaking of. When feigning to be recalled by Octavius, he demanded leave of Antony, who granted it.

“ Will not you give me a letter to Cæsar, says Cocceius, as I brought one to you ? ” “ No, ” replied Antony hastily, I never write to my enemies.” Cocceius represented to him, that he ought not to reckon Cæsar his enemy, after the clemency which he shewed at Perusia to his brother Lucius, and the rest of his friends.

“ How, replied Antony, shall not I call him mine enemy who has refused me entry into Brundusium, and who has taken from me my provinces and my troops ? With regard to my friends, if he has used them well, he did not do it to preserve them for me, but to render them mine enemies by his favours.” Cocceius did not think it proper

to

to insist any further on the subject, for fear of irritating that impetuous temper in Antony, which he proposed to calm ; and contenting himself with having drawn out of him the cause of his complaints, he returned to Octavius.

A. R. 711.
Ant. C. 40.

He pleaded before him the cause of Antony, as he had pleaded before Antony the cause of Octavius. He exposed to the young Triumvir the grievances of his colleague, and justified the alliance which Antony had made with Domitius and Sextus Pompeius, alledging that they were both innocent of the murder of Cæsar, and that they were more unfortunate than culpable, even according to the principles of the victorious party. Observing that these reasons made but little impression, he fortified them by the fear of danger, declaring to him frankly the resolution which Antony had taken to make use of the maritime forces of Sextus, joined to those of his own, in order to lay waste and famish Italy. This last consideration struck Octavius ; and Cocceius, who observed it, spoke to him then upon the death of Fulvia. “ That woman, says he, has been a torch of discord between you, but she is now dead. “ What hinders you then to make advances to each other, provided you rather chuse to clear up your reciprocal complaints, than to nourish resentment in your hearts ? ”

Octavius after this becoming very calm, Cocceius proposed to carry a letter for him to Antony, and represented to him, that as he was the youngest, he thought he might very well write first to a colleague, who had so great a superiority to him in age. The point of honour would not allow Octavius to do this ; but

A. R. 711. he contrived an expedient, which was to write
 Ant. C. 42. a polite letter to Julia, the mother of Antony, complaining, that being his relation, she should have taken the resolution of flying out of Italy, as if she might not expect from him the same tenderness and regard as from her son.

Cocceius, with this letter, returned to Antony, and advised him, in order to take away every obstacle to a peace, to begin by removing Domitius from his person, and sending Sextus back into Sicily. Antony, at first, was very loth to give his consent, especially to that part which regarded Sextus. Because he thought that thereby he would be too much engaged to Octavius, and, consequently, give him too much the advantage. But at last, tearing the valour of Octavius's legions, who, tho' full of esteem for Antony, were nevertheless determined to make smart war against him, in case he obstinately rejected a peace, he yielded to the instances of Cocceius and his mother; and having sent Domitius to Bythinia, of which he made him governor, he gave Sextus to understand, that he had no more need of his services in Italy, promising him in the mean time to take care of his interests.

*Atreaycon-
ciudea be-
tween Oc-
tavius and
Antony, by
Mæcenas.* After these preliminaries, Cæsar's soldiers being satisfied with him, formed a reputation among themselves, which they addressed in common to the two generals, signifying to Mæcenas, them, that the inclination of the army was for *Paulus*, and them to make peace. As to the terms of it the Cocceius. soldiers did not take upon them to discuss them; but they gave full power to a committee composed of three commissaries, Mæcenas engaging for Octavius, Pollio for Antony, and Cocceius as a common friend or mediator.

These

These three negotiators concluded the treaty ^{A. R. 711.} _{Ant. C. 40.} under the authority of the army, which acted as the depository of the sovereignty.

The articles of the treaty were very simple; forgetting what was past, friendship and a good correspondence for the future; and a new division of the Roman Empire, the eastern part of which was put under the power of Antony, and the western under that of Octavius. The *Scutari* on town of Scodra in Illyria, was the common *the Drino.* bounds of these two great divisions. Africa was left to Lepidus, who was always forced to be contented with whatever his colleagues pleased to allot him. Octavius took upon him the war against Sextus Pompeius, in case they could not come to an accommodation with him, and Antony that against the Parthians. It was likewise expressly stipulated, that the two generals should have an equal power of raising troops in Italy. But Octavius preserved to himself always the advantage of never giving up the Capitol, and seat of the Empire. Domitius was acquitted of the condemnation pronounced against him, and the good usage he had received from Antony, was approved of by Octavius. With regard to the Consulship, which was no more than a shadow, but a shadow of some dignity, and capable of taking life again in the hands of persons who knew how to reanimate it, they agreed, that whenever the ^{Plut. Ant.} Triumviri did not exercise that office themselves, they should share it amongst their friends. In short, the seal of this reconciliation, was Antony's marriage with Octavia, sister to young Cæsar.

Octavia, who was elder than her brother, ^{Antony's} _{marriage} _{with Octa-} was tenderly beloved of him, tho' she was _{only} *via.*

A. R. 711. only his sister by the father's side, by a former
 Ant. C. 40. marriage. She had been a short time a widow, having lost C. Marcellus her husband. Antony passed also for a widower after the death of Fulvia; for as to Cleopatra, tho' he did not deny his intrigues with her, yet he did not use her on the footing of a wife. All the friends he had, who were sensible and judicious, wished extremely that he would marry Octavia, whose merit was equal to her other charms. They hoped that this lady, who joined to an exquisite beauty, a sedateness of manners, sweetness of conversation, and a great deal of wit, could not fail of being beloved by Antony, when he was her husband, and thereby cure him of his foolish passion for the queen of Egypt, the consequences of which made them tremble. Thus all their wishes uniting in an alliance so agreeable in every respect, the affair was presently concluded, and the marriage immediately celebrated, without even waiting till the time of * Octavia's mourning was expired. And as this circumstance must have occasioned a stain upon her, according to the Roman customs, the Senate, by an express decree, dispensed with the rigour of the law in this case.

A small
triumph *delivered* *Italy* *from* *the* *fear* *of* *a* *bloody* *war.*
creed *is* *the* *two* *generals*, *they* *thought*
they *could* *not* *do* *less* *than* *decree* *them* *a* *small*
triumph.

But before they made their solemn entry into Rome, Antony being still at Brundusium,

* Dion adds, that she was hence on this subject gives me with child, but Plutarch's reason to suspect it.

or near it, saw himself exposed to great danger from Cæsar's old soldiers, who had followed Octavius. They remembered that he promised to send money from the East, to be distributed amongst them ; and he might easily have done it, if his luxury and prodigality had not prevented it. The veterans flocked about him, and called upon him to perform his promise. As he was not in a condition to satisfy them, they burst out into reproaches, became very warm, and Antony would certainly have been in very great danger, if Octavius had not engaged in his behalf. In order to avoid any thing of this kind for the future, the veterans were all sent home to their colonies.

The reconciliations of great men are too frequently fatal to their friends. This was experienced on the above occasion, by two of those who had the chief confidence of Octavius and Antony. Manius was delivered up ^{nus is con-} ^{damned for} ^{bis trea-} ^{ctery to} ^{and kills} ^{bimself.} Octavius, by Octavius to his colleague as the principal author of the Perusian war, in consequence of which Antony put him to death ; and, at the same time, by way of compensation, he discovered to Octavius the secret practices of Salvinius, who at that time commanded an army in Gaul. This man, who was of an obscure birth, had push'd himself, by his talents and ambition, to become one of the principal lieutenants of Octavius, who had even advanced him to the dignity of Consul, without having the order of a simple knight, a distinction almost quite singular, and which never had been granted, at least in latter times, to any but Pompey. Mean while this high fortune did not satisfy the insatiable ambition of that officer ; who, betraying his commander, had offered

A. R. 7th. offered his service to Antony during the siege
 Ant. C. 4th. of Brundusium. Octavius being informed of this perfidy by Antony himself, ordered Salvidienus to Rome under some certain pretence, and when he had him there in his power, he caused him to be tried by the Senate, who condemned him to death as an enemy to the publick. Salvidienus executed the sentence himself, and prevented the punishment by a voluntary death.

There was a great affair still remaining to be executed by the two Triumviri, which was either to destroy Sextus Pompeius, who harassed Italy very much, or else to come to an agreement with him. But this would lead me to the following year, and I ought to mention here some facts, which, tho' they are of no great importance, yet ought not be neglected.

Canidius and Balbus The change introduced into the government, *substituted in the Consulship, in the room of Pollio and Domitius.* discovered itself more and more, by the Consuls having but a very small share in publick affairs. Pollio and Domitius Calvinus, who enjoy'd this title, which was formerly so great, appeared only as having a second hand at most in all the events of this year. They were even obliged by the Triumviri, after having enjoy'd this vain piece of honour for some time, to yield their place to others, whom the Triumviri wanted to please with the same piece of honour. Their successors were L. Cornelius Balbus, and P. Canidius Crassus, the one a friend of Octavius, and the other of Antony. We shall see afterwards Canidius at the head of Antony's forces; and with regard to Balbus, he had been many years attached to the house of the Cæfars. His fortune had something singular enough.

He was a Spaniard, born at Cadiz, and having done great service when he was very young, to Metellus Pius, and Pompey, in the war against Sextorius, he was made a Roman citizen by Pompey; a privilege which was disputed him in justice, but he maintain'd the possession of it by the credit of him who had procured it to him, and by the assistance of Cicero's eloquence. His ambition no doubt determined him to attach himself to Cæsar, as a patron, who was capable of advancing him higher than Pompey could do, and by this conduct he did not at all incur the reproach of ingratitude; for Cæsar and Pompey were at that time friends. After the rupture between them, he remained with the strongest party, and by his constant fidelity to Cæsar, and his zeal to serve Octavius, he became so much consider'd, that though he was a stranger by birth, and adopted a citizen, not without a dispute, he arrived at the Consulship, and was the first example of a sovereign magistrate of Rome born out of Italy. He acquired likewise immense riches; so that when he died he bequeath'd to the Roman people no less than twenty-five * Denarii a head. *Ten shillings and five pence.*

Pollio, at the expiration of the Consulship, was sent by Antony to make war against the Parthians, people of Illyria, who had shewn a strong attachment to Brutus. He took the town of Salonea, and did other exploits which entitled him to a triumph. But that which secured him an honourable rank among illustrious persons, was that variety of talents which were united in him, in an eminent degree. He excelled in all kinds of eloquence, poetry, and history; and he patronized in others, *Horace Ode II. 1.*

A. R. 712.
Ant. C. 40.

The for-

tune of

Balbus

Cic. pro

Balbo.

Vell. II.

57.

Plin. VII.

43.

A. R. 713. others, that taste for those arts, which he cul-
 Ad. C. 40. tivated in himself with success. A proof of
 this was Virgil, whom he maintain'd in pos-
 session of his paternal estate, and introduced
 to Octavius's friendship. Pollio had great
 views, and had the honour of being the first
 who founded a publick library for the use of
 Plin. VII. men of letters. He adorn'd it with statues
 30. & of the most learned men of antiquity; Varro
 XXXV. 2. was the only living one to whom he did that
 honour.

*The Tri-
 umph of
 Calvinus.
 His jove-
 rity with
 regard to
 discipline.
 Dio.
 Vell. II.
 73.*

His colleague, Domitius Calvinus, makes a more shining figure in history by his employments and titles, than by his real merit. After his Consulship he went to make war against the Cerritani in Spain, where he acquired the honour of a triumph. His exploits have nothing very remarkable; but he deserves praise with regard to military discipline. A body of troops having allowed themselves to be defeated by the enemy, and shamefully taken flight, Calvinus punished those who were guilty, by decimating a great many companies, without sparing the officers. Some Centurions, and among the rest the first captain of a legion, named Vibulius, suffered the Bastinado, which was an ignominious punishment, and frequently mortal.

*Herod de-
 clar'd king
 of Judea.
 Joseph.
 Antiq.
 XIV. 20.
 & de B.
 Jud. I. 11.*

Under the Consulship of Pollio and Calvinus, Herod was declared, by the Romans, king of Judea. It is surprizing that this title, which had been extinct for so many years, and refused formerly by Pompey to Hyrcan, sprung from a race of kings, should be renewed in favour of a man, who not only did not belong to the royal line, but was even a stranger, and an Idumean by origin. Herod was

was obliged for this to the war of the Parthians. A. R. 7¹².
 Those people were actually almost entire masters of Judea. Hyrcan was their prisoner, Ant. C. 46.
 and they had set up as king, Antigonus, chief of the branch, in enmity with Hyrcan. In this situation of affairs, Antony thought it would be of service to him, to oppose to the king established by the Parthians, one who was in friendship with the Romans. Herod then who had come to Rome, to represent the melancholy condition of Judea, and to implore a speedy assistance, obtain'd more than he demanded. As he knew that the Romans did not usually grant the name of king, but to those who are of the royal progeny, he intended to ask that title for his brother-in-law, brother to the unfortunate Mariamne, grandson of Aristobulus, by his father, and of Hyrcan by his mother; while in the mean time, he intended to reserve all the power and functions of royalty to himself. Antony however thought it more proper to join the title to the office. Herod was agreeable to him, and to all Cæsar's party, both on account of the services he did them himself, as well as of those of Antipater his father. He was therefore declared king by a decree of the Senate, and the Triumviri added to it tokens of honours of all kinds, an account of which may be seen in the historian Josephus.

A law very famous in the Roman legislature, was passed this year by the Tribune P. Falcidius. It tended to restrain the unbound-ed liberty of making wills, which the citizens enjoyed, and very frequently abused. It was no rare case, for example, for the Testator to drain the estate by the number and greatness of

The Falcidian law.

Dio.

Justin.

Initit.

I. ii. tit. 22.

A. R. 712. of the legacies, so that there remained hardly
 Ant. C. 40. any thing for the natural heirs. They had, for a great while, felt the inconvenience of this last abuse, and had endeavoured to remedy it, but without success. Falcidius therefore caused a law to be made, ordering that the fourth part of the goods of the Testator, should absolutely belong to the heirs, and if the sum of the legacies exceeded three quarters of the estate, it should be lawful for them to take from the legatees as much as would make up the quarter due to them. This privileged quarter has been called the Falcidium, from the Tribune Falcidius.

The death of Dejotarus. The old king Dejotarus, whom I have had occasion frequently to mention, died at last in a very advanced age. He had managed his affairs very well, with regard to his political lities. His conduct, and his proceedings with the Romans cruelty to who were his protectors, or rather his masters. *bis famis.* Being in friendship with Cicero, Cato, and Brutus, in the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, he attached himself to the best party. Necessity however obliged him to yield to the conqueror; but after the death of Cæsar, he shewed to the world that neither disgraces, nor even torpid old age, had been able to lessen his courage and boldness. But he forcibly recovered all that had been taken from him by the resentment of the Dictator. Besides, he gave assistance to Brutus, the last assertor of the Roman liberty. I am sorry that Dejotarus, who had so many commendable qualities, should have tarnished the glory of them by his domestick cruelties. Strabo, and particularly Plutarch, accuses him of having been the executioner of his whole family. He treated it as

Strabo, I. XII. Plat. de Stoic. Repub.

as a vine-dresser treats a vine, cutting off all the branches but one, in order to make that flourish. Thus Dejotarus put all his children to death, to raise the fortune of him whom he chose to make his heir. But authors have not inform'd us, whether this project, which he pushed by such barbarous means, succeeded or not. His successor, in the tetrarchy, is called Castor by Dio.

The Consuls were chose for the following year, according to the plan agreed on by the two Triumviri; that is to say, out of a number of the friends of each of them. Those who began the year were Marcus Censorinus, and Calvisius Sabinus, one of whom had been left by Antony to command in Greece during his absence, while he pass'd into Asia; and we shall see the other at the head of the naval forces of Octavius, against the generals of Sextus Pompeius.

L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.
C. CALVISIUS SABINUS.

A. R. 712.
Ant. C. 40.

The authority of the Consulship was very much weakened, and reduced almost to nothing. But at least hitherto they had kept up to the form with regard to the duration of it so far, as that there had been none created Consuls, who were not named to continue to the end of the year; though several of them were obliged, both by the Dictator Cæsar, and by the Triumviri, to resign before that time was expired, in order to leave this honourable title for others, whom they wanted to invest with it. Marcus Censorinus, and Calvisius Sabinus were the first Consuls, who, entring upon the office the

A. R. 73. first of January, were only to continue a cer-
Aut. C. 39. tain number of months, at the end of which they were to be relieved by successors, appointed at the same time with them. This practice, which vilified and degraded more and more the Consulship, was followed constantly by the emperors. After this there were no more annual Consuls. Those who began the year, gave

* *Ordinary* ;
narii. it their names, and were called the * Ordinary ;
† *Suffecti*. the others whom they called † Substituted, were hardly known but in Rome and Italy. In the provinces they were but little heard of, and for
§ *Minores*. this reason they were called § *the little Consuls*.

Confusion and disorder in all the States. The great number of those, whom the Triumviri had to recompence, was one of the causes which influenced them to multiply the Consulship. The same motive also engaged them to introduce, or allow to come into the Senate, all kinds of unworthy members, even as far as common soldiers and slaves. One Vibius Maximus, appointed Questor, was known by his master, who claimed him, and sent him back into slavery. There was also found amongst the legionary soldiers a slave, who had been thrown down from the Tarpeian rock, after he had been first made free, in order to give more distinction and solemnity to his punishment. In a word, confusion and licentiousness reigned in all ranks, and those who still preserv'd any sentiments of decency and publick honour, or any taste for the ancient manners, saw nothing on all hands but afflicting objects.

Rome and Italy suffered by Sextus. An insurrection against the Triumviri. But the thoughts of the people were taken up with a disaster, which affected them more nearly ; and this was a famine, which the squadrons of Sextus Pompeius, Appian. D. C. stationed

stationed along the coast, occasion'd in Rome and Italy. As he was master of the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, he interrupted the commerce, both of the East and West, and his corsairs kept constantly at sea to intercept their convoys; which might come from Africa.

A. R. 713.
Ant. C. 39.

Hunger is a very great incentive. The people grew tumultuous, and called aloud upon the Triumviri to make peace with Sextus. But Octavius remaining inflexible, Antony concluded that they must put themselves in a condition to make war immediately, before the famine should come to an extremity. It was not possible to undertake the war without having recourse to new impositions. They gave out orders, to tax the masters at the rate of twelve Denarii and a half, for the head of each slave which they possessed, and to retain a certain quota upon the successions and legacies for the publick expence. Then the people lost all patience; and the placards of the money edicts were pull'd down. They thought it strange that the Triumviri, after having drained the publick treasury, spoiled provinces, harass'd Italy with proscriptions, confiscations, and all manner of extortions, should still rob the citizens of that little which was left them; and that not for a war which interested the State, or tended to the good of the empire, but for their particular quarrels, for their ambition, and destroying a family which was an enemy to their grandeur.

The publick indignation against the Triumviri, turned into affection for Sextus; and the common people testified their sentiments at the games of the Circus, where it was the custom

A. R. 7¹³ to carry in pomp the statue of Neptune. They
 Ant. C. 39. received it with extraordinary applause in honour of Sextus, who called himself the son of that God. Octavius observed this inclination in them, and in order to prevent the like scene afterwards, during the time of the feasts, he forbid them to bring thither the statue of Neptune. But the people demanded it, and not being able to obtain satisfaction, *A furious tumult, in which Octavius runs a risk of his life, but is deliver'd by Antony.* they became furious. They began to throw stones, and Octavius coming to present himself to the enraged populace, run a risk of being killed. Neither his firmness in exposing himself to their blows, nor his representations, nor even his entreaties, when he saw the danger became pressing, could calm the fury of the tumult. Antony came to his assistance, and as he pass'd for being well enough dispos'd in favour of the peace they desired, the people at first did not offer to hurt him, but only begged him to retire. Upon his refusing they threw stones at him, and he was obliged to send orders for the troops, who having made a great slaughter among the mutineers, opened a passage for him to where his colleague was, whom he at last disengaged. The dead bodies were thrown into the Tiber, and their number, together with the licentiousness of the soldiers and mob, who plundered them, was a new subject of grief, but of a grief which fear obliged them to conceal.

A fest. given by Octavius, a new ab. fest. of consecr. plait. Octavius increased this discontent by the feast which he gave according to custom, upon occasion of his first using the Razor, and the first-fruits of his beard, consecrated in ceremony to some God. The young Romans never shaved till the age of one or two and

twenty years; but contented themselves with clipping the hairs which were too long. Octavius had waited till he was five and twenty years old. He wanted to celebrate that day with magnificence, and give a feast to all the populace. But instead of being applauded for this by the multitude, it renewed their complaints. They observed that this extraordinary and useless expence was very ill placed, at a time when the citizens were starving.

Octavius at last was obliged to yield to the *Octavius* people, or rather to necessity, and give his *consents to a negotiation with Sextus*. In the mean while, to save appearances, he would not be seen in the beginning of a negotiation. It was Antony who first proposed the affair to Libo, the father-in-law of Sextus, and brother-in-law of Octavius. He proposed to Libo's friends at Rome to invite him by letters to come and visit his country, in order to enjoy the advantages of his new alliance with Octavius, and on another account still more important. Libo having obtained the consent of Sextus, came to the island of * Enaria, upon * Ischia, the coast of Campania, at a small distance from Naples. But he would not proceed any further without a safe-guard from Octavius, who still made the people press him to grant it. The ardour of the multitude for peace was so great, that they forced Mucia, the mother of Sextus, to go to her son, and join her maternal authority to the wishes of the citizens; and upon that lady's making some resistance at first, the people were in such a rage, as to threaten to burn her in her house.

This precaution of the people was by no means superfluous. Sextus himself had no *Sextus yields to it, contrary to his inclination nations.*

A. R. 713.clination to peace, and Menas, his freedman
 Aet. C. 39. and confident, who at that time commanded
 considerable sea and land forces in Sardinia,
 wrote to him not to leave off the war, or at
 least to spin out the negotiation as long as he
 could, that the famine might render the Tri-
 umviri more tractable, and procure him more
 advantageous conditions.

It is true that those illustrious Romans, who had found a retreat in Italy, were of a contrary opinion, and alledged that he only advised the continuation of the war, because thereby he gained great profits and honours. And they probably guessed right, but it was an easy matter to retort the reproach against themselves, for their interest was manifest in the opinion they embraced. It was visible that they wanted to return to their own country after so long an exile; and Sextus, no doubt, knew well enough that they suffer'd impatiently the credit which his freedman had with him. It was at this time that Murcus, behaving with more haughtiness than the rest, was basely assassinated by order of Sextus; and as this tragical example served as a warning to those who was of his way of thinking, to be more circumspect with regard to their external behaviour, it only encreased their desire to free them from the dependance on a chief, who was capable of acting in so cruel a manner.

*A con-
 ference be-
 tween the
 three
 genera-
 b.* Libo felt the difficulty of conducting a negotiation, which could not succeed but contrary to the natural wishes of the parties to be reconciled. In order to get rid of the trouble, and not to expose himself to reproaches, he proposed a conference between the three generals,

generals, that so they might terminate the differences between themselves. The people of Rome on one side, and the fugitives fled for refuge to Sextus on the other, supported the proposition so strongly, that it was accepted. A. R. 713.
Ant. C. 39.
Antony and Octavius march'd with their troops to the coast of Baiae; and Sextus came to lie before the Promontory of Misenum, on board a gally of six rows of oars, attended by a beautiful and numerous fleet.

In preparing for the conference, they took such measures as shew'd they had but little confidence in one another. Upon stakes drove into the sea they rais'd two bridges, between which they left an empty space. That bridge which joined to the land was for the Triumviri, the other for Sextus. At the first interview, their claims were widely different. Sextus demanded no less than to be made a colleague with Octavius and Antony, and to be substituted in the room of the weak Lepidus. The Triumviri, on the contrary, would only allow him the simple liberty of returning to Rome. They parted then very little satisfied with one another, but in the mean time, without breaking off the negotiation. The famine was a pressing reason for the Triumviri, and Sextus saw himself warmly solicited by those who were about him. They even committed violence upon him in a manner; and at a time when they fatigued him with their solicitations, he cried out, tearing his clothes, that he was betray'd by those whom he had saved, and that Menas was the only person, whose bravery and fidelity he could depend upon. However, in spite of so strong a protestation, he could not resist the entreaties of so many great persons,

A. R. 713. sons, supported by those of his mother. The
 Ant. C. 39. peace was concluded upon very honourable terms for him, if he could have depended upon their being punctually observed,

*Conditions
of the
treaty.*

In this treaty he stipulated for himself, for the illustrious fugitives to whom he had given sanctuary, and for his soldiers.

For himself he obtained, the confirmed and peaceable possession of the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, to which was likewise added Achaia. All which he was to possess, as long as the Triumviri themselves should enjoy their proper districts. They likewise promised him the Consulship, with a power to exercise that office in his absence, by means of any of his friends whom he should appoint his proxy. They also assured him of the dignity of Augur, and seventy millions of Sesterces on his father's estate, five hundred and forty six thousand, nine hundred and forty five pounds sterling.

As to the fugitives, or exiles, they were distributed into three classes, the murderers of Cæsar, the proscribed, and those who had fled voluntarily. The first were not comprehended in the treaty. But according to the testimony of Appian and Dio, they had a verbal commission granted them, to chuse a place of exile, where they might live in safety. The proscribed were re-established in all their rights and privileges ; but they restored them only a fourth part of their goods which had been confiscated. Those who had neither been condemn'd nor proscrib'd, were restor'd to all their privileges and estates, except their moveables. Some of the most distinguished amongst them, obtained expressly magistracies and priesthoods.

The

The soldiers of Sextus were likewise treated ^{A. R. 713.} _{Ant. C. 39.} very favourably. There were a great many of them in the condition of slaves. Being sure of finding liberty in Sicily, the slaves had deserted in flocks out of Italy; and this desertion came to such a height, that the Vestals, amongst the vows which they address'd to the Gods for the good of the empire, had received orders the preceding year to add a prayer, desiring a cessation of that calamity. The slaves, who had enlisted with Sextus, were preserved by the treaty in the enjoyment of their liberty; and they promised the free soldiers, who served in the army and fleets, the same recompences, after their term of service should be expired, which had been granted to the soldiers of the Triumviri.

For so many advantages which Sextus reaped from this treaty, he reciprocally engaged himself to draw off his troops from the ports which they occupied in Italy; no more to receive any fugitive slaves; not to augment his naval forces; to defend Italy against the pyrates, and to send to Rome the same remittances of corn and other taxes, which those isles that were yielded to him used formerly to pay.

After those articles had been adjusted, the solemn act which confirmed them was sealed by the three contracting generals, and sent to Rome to be kept by the Vestals, as a precious and sacred charge. The conferences ended with testimonies of reciprocal friendship; they shook hands and embraced.

The joy which this peace occasioned, was ^{The extreme} _{joy which} _{this peace} _{occasions'd.} equal to the ardour with which it was desired. Italy delivered from the fear of a famine, which already

A. R. 713. already began to be violently felt, and a great
 Ant. C. 39. number of the Citizens of Rome restored to
 their country after a long exile, were for a while
 inexhaustible subjects both of publick and par-
 ticular congratulations. The most illustrious
 Vell. II. 77. were L. Arruntius, and M. Julius Silanus, C.
 Sentius Saturninus, and M. Titius, who, after
 returning thanks to Sextus proportion'd to the
 favour they had received of him, followed Oc-
 tavius to Rome, and were afterwards advanced
 to the highest honours.

*The three
 Chiefs en-
 tertain one
 another by
 turns.*

Those who were the least contented with this
 peace, were doubtless the three Chiefs who con-
 cluded it. It is very certain, that Octavius
 especially, at the same time that he swore, was
 firmly resolved to break it the first opportu-
 nity. They all three however, shewed great
 appearances of rejoicings, by the entertain-
 ments which they agreed to give one another
 by turns.

*An expres-
 sion of Sex-
 tus to An-
 tony.* They drew lots among them who should be-
 gin; and the lot falling upon Sextus, Antony
 asked him where he would receive them: "In
Plut. Ant. " my keel, replied Sextus; for that is all the
Appian. " paternal house which remains to Pompey."
Dio. This was a reproach to Antony, who had usurp-
 ed the house which belonged to Pompey in
 Rome. The allusion is still more happy in the
 Latin, because the same * word which Sextus
 made use of to express his vessel, was the name
 of that part of Rome where his father's house
 stood.

During the entertainment, they were very
 merry, and chiefly at the expence of Antony,
 whose passion for Cleopatra furnished matter for

* *In carinis meis.* *Vell. II. 77.*

a great deal of pleasantry ; but the scene would have changed, and become very serious, if Sextus had yielded to the advice of Menas, who ^{A. R. 73.} ^{Ant. C. 39.} ^{A remark.} *able in-
whispered him in the ear ; “ Allow me to cut ^{flame of his} “ the cordage of the anchors, and thus make ^{generosity,} “ you master not only of Sicily and Sardinia, ^{in rejec-} “ but also of the whole universe.” The en- ^{vice of Ma-} timent was strong, and Sextus had need of ^{nas.} reflection to confirm himself against so powerful a temptation. He considered it a moment, and honour prevailing over his interest and ambition, he answered Menas ; “ You ought to, “ have done it without telling me ; but since “ you have mentioned it to me, we must be “ content with what we have, for I cannot “ perjure myself.”*

Sextus's guests heard nothing of what was said, and the entertainment ended as gaily as it begun. They even began to talk of publick affairs, and projected a marriage between Dio. two children who were very young, viz. the daughter of Sextus with young Marcellus, the son of Octavia, son-in-law to Antony, and nephew to Octavius. Appian adds, that next day they entered into schemes amongst themselves with regard to the Consulship for a great while to come. I shall hereafter mention what is necessary about this, in its proper place. The Triumviri treated their new allies successively in their turns in tents pitched purposely on the beach ; after which they parted, Sextus returned to Sicily, and Octavius and Antony to Rome.

They passed some time there in perfect harmony, and agreed in all affairs of consequence wherein they were concerned. But in their games and amusements, the superiority of Octavius

A. R. 713. Octavius above Antony, put the latter out of humour. In short, Plutarch assures us, that in *out of humour at all kinds of games against Octavius.* *He leaves Italy, and arrives at Athens.* *Plut.* every game of chance between them, Octavius had always the better. At other times, when they had cock-fighting, or quails, which they trained up to that exercise, the victory was always on Octavius's side. This continual train of bad success in trifles, was a real mortification to Antony, and disposed him to listen to the advice of an Egyptian astrologer, who belonged to his retinue, and who, whether he was himself the dupe of his own deceitful art, or, which is more likely, was gained over by Cleopatra, to bring back Antony to her, was constantly telling him that his fortune, which of itself was great and exalted, was obscured by that of Octavius. He exhorted him in consequence of it to shun the presence of his young colleague. “ For, said he, your genius is afraid of his. When it is alone, and far removed from this competitor, it is fierce and elevated, but when they approach near each other, it is fearful and dejected.” However contemptible such a philosophy may be, these superstitious notions, joined to those small, but sensible and repeated disgusts, which Antony received, had their effect. He left Italy, and arrived at Athens, taking with him Octavia, who a little while before was delivered of a daughter.

His popular behaviour with the Athenians. Antony's stay at Athens was very agreeable to him, and he passed the winter there, laying aside the pomp of his high station which constrained him, and familiarizing himself willingly with a people, who have always had the character of gaiety, politeness, and an ingenious flattery towards their superiors. Thus in the feast

feast which he gave to the Athenians, on account of the victories which Ventidius his lieutenant had obtained over the Parthians, as I shall very soon relate, he exercised himself the office of master of the revels. He substituted the badges of his office of a citizen, to the magnificent equipages of the triumviral dignity, and presided at the feast in a cloak and socks after the Grecian manner.

It was in consequence of the same taste for foolish trifling, that partly from drunkenness, and partly from a popular vein, he renewed the scene which he had acted before in Asia, in making himself be honoured as a new Bacchus. They observed, on his account, all the joyous ceremonies of the God of wine, and he represented him personally perfectly well. But the Athenians being willing to encourage this humour of Antony, were but very ill rewarded for their pleasantry. For taking it into their heads, after having saluted him as Bacchus, to offer him in marriage the goddess Minerva, their protectress, he accepted the proposal, and taxed them at a thousand talents as her dowry. A wag in the company represented to him on this subject, that Semele her mother had brought no portion to Jupiter. But Antony still persisted in demanding the thousand talents, and without delay. Tho' Dellius, still pursuing the same humour, observed to him, that according to the usual practice at Rome, they had commonly three years allowed them to pay the portion at three different payments. This affair put the Athenians into an ill humour, and set them on pasquinading Antony for it, which only diverted him, not at all envying them this little revenge.

While

A. R. 73.
Ant. C. 39.

A. R. 713. While he amused himself with those frivo-
 Ant. C. 39. lous pastimes, Ventidius made war for him
 Plut. against the Parthians with success capable of
 raising his jealousy. His thirst after the glory
 of arms was not at all abated. He was afraid
 that his lieutenants would leave him nothing
 to do, and having resolved to put himself at
 the head of his armies in the East, he set out
 from Athens the beginning of the year, when
 Ap. Claudius and Norbanus were Consuls.

§. III.

*Motions of the Partbians. Conducted by Labienus
 the son, they invade Syria. They establish An-
 tigonus king of Judea, and carry away Hyr-
 can prisoner. Labienus conquers Cilicia, and
 penetrates as far as Caria. Ventidius, Antony's
 lieutenant, arrives, and obtains over the Par-
 thians two victories successfivel. Antony, jea-
 lous of the glory of Ventidius, leaves Athens
 to put himself at the bead of his armies. The
 third victory of Ventidius, where Pacorus prince
 of the Partbians is killed. Ventidius dares not
 push bis advantages, for fear of provoking the
 jealousy of Antony. The siege of Samosates, the
 success of which does no honour to Antony. The
 triumph of Ventidius. The taking of Jerusalem
 by Sestus and Herod. Antigonus is whip'd with
 rods, and put to death like a criminal. Herod
 put in peaceable possession of the crown. Con-
 fusion and contempt of all the laws in Rome.
 Octavius falls in love with Livia. He divorces
 Scribonia the same day she was deliver'd of Ju-
 lia. He marries Livia, who was yielded to
 him by her husband, when she was six months
 gone with child. The birth of Drusus. Tibe-
 rius*

rius and Drusus brought up in the palace of Octavius. Causes of the rupture between Octavius and Sextus. Menas made free by Sextus, goes into Octavius's service. Preparations of Octavius for the war. A sea-fight near Cumæ. Another near the rock of Scylla, where Octavius's fleet is very much damaged. A tempest compleats the ruin of the naval forces of Octavius. Sextus does not know how to make a right use of this opportunity. Octavius takes time to make new preparations. Agrippa, conqueror in Gaul, refuses a triumph. A continuation of the Triumviri for five years: Agrippa charged with the preparations for war against Sextus. The port of Julius formed by the junction of the lakes of Lucrinus and Avernus. A pretended Omen which happened to Livia.

A. P. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

C. NORBANUS FLACCUS.

I Have deferred till now mentioning the motions of the Parthians, that I might be able to connect them into one subject. It will therefore be necessary to begin farther back. A. R. 714. Ant. C. 38. Motions of the Parthians.

From the beginning of the civil wars amongst the Romans, the Parthians had always an inclination to follow Pompey's party. They remembered that that general, when he was formerly in the East, had observed a pacific conduct with regard to them. And besides, they knew that M. Crassus, second son of Crassus their enemy, was attached to Cæsar, and had served in his army, which was another motive for them to imagine, that if this faction became victorious, they had reason to expect a war. And indeed, we have seen that

A. R. 714. Cæsar was ready to make war upon them, at
 Ant. C. 38. the time he was assassinated.

After his death, the Parthians still pursuing their plan, favoured Brutus and Cassius. They had prepared to send them succours, when they received the news of their defeat, and deplorable end.

Conducted by Labienus the son of Labienus, who from being Cæsar's creature and lieutenant, became his implacable enemy. The son inherited his father's hatred against Cæsar's party; and having lost his hopes by the ruin of Brutus and Cassius, he chose rather to remain under a foreign power, than to expose himself to inevitable death in his own country. At first, he was but little considered by those who protected him; but having always his eye upon the turn which affairs took in the Roman Empire, upon the first troubles which arose between Octavius and Antony, he represented to the Parthians, that it was a favourable opportunity for them; and that while the principal Roman forces destroy'd each other in Italy, by the Tuscan war, and Antony was render'd effeminate in Egypt by Cleopatra, they might avenge themselves for the unjust war which Crassus had made against them, and even invade the Roman provinces, which were situated in their neighbourhood, and lay convenient for them.

His advice was listen'd to, and Orodæ, king of the Parthians, raised a powerful army to make an invasion upon Syria. He established his son Pacorus general of this army, and gave him for his counsellors Barzapharnes and Labienus, in whose good conduct he chiefly depended for success. And indeed, he was not disap-

disappointed in his hope. Antony had left De- A. R. 714.
cidius Saxa, who had been a long time strongly Ant. C. 38.
attached to him, to command in Syria. But the troops which he gave him, had served under Cassius. Labienus found then among them, friends and acquaintances, and he knew so well to take the advantage of that, and to put them in mind of the oath they had formerly taken to the defenders of the Roman liberty, that they revolted to a man. All the towns opened their gates to them, and even Apame and Antioch received them, and Saxa, abandoned by his army, was reduced to kill himself with his own hand, that he might not fall into the power of the conqueror. There was only Tyre which resisted the Parthians, conducted by Labienus. The garrison was faithful, and was supplied by a concourse of all those who had left Syria, in order to shun the new yoke of the Parthians.

Having thus subdued Syria, the Parthians They ~~stab-~~
passed into Judea, whither they were invited ^{lib. Antigo-}
by Antigonus, nephew and rival to Hyrcan. ^{nus king of}
That prince, possessed with the blind fury of ^{Judea, and}
reigning, was not ashamed to promise them, ^{carry away}
in order to obtain their assistance, not only a ^{Hyrcan}
thousand talents of silver, but five hundred ^{prisoner.}
women. The Parthians over-run all Judea, & de B. ^{Jof. Ant.}
and, seconded by Antigonus's party, they easi- ^{XIV. 23.}
ly rendered themselves masters of the whole ^{Jud. I. 11.}
country, and penetrated into Jerusalem. Herod and his brother, who defended, or rather governed Hyrcan, made nevertheless a strong resistance in the palace. But the Parthians, joining perfidy to force, according to their usual practice, persuaded the weak Hyrcan, and even Phazael, the brother of Herod, to

A. R. 7¹⁴. Ant. C. 3⁸. come and negotiate a peace with them ; and when they had them in their power, they put them in chains, contrary to their oath, and delivered them to their enemies. Phazael killed himself in despair. As to Hyrcan, the rage of Antigonus hurried him to such an unnatural excess, as to make him bite and tear his ears off, thereby to render him for ever incapable of the sovereign priesthood, which by the law could not be enjoy'd by a man who was maim'd in any of his members. The Parthians even carried away with them the unfortunate Hyrcan, that Antigonus, whom they had established king of Judea, might have no umbrage. It was at that time that Herod, having no more resource in any of those whom he saw about him, went to Rome, as I have before related, and obtained of Antony and Octavius the title of king.

Labienus fabdus Cilicia, and penetrates as far as Caria. Dio. Labienus pushed his victories, and entered into Cilicia. Plancus was charged by Antony to defend the provinces of Asia, but being a very indifferent warrior, he fled at the approach of the enemy, and went over into some of the neighbouring isles, where he found a sure retreat, because the Parthians had no vessels. The country thus abandoned, lay at the mercy of the conquerors, and Labienus penetrated even to Caria, where he took and destroy'd the towns of Mylafa and Alabanda. But he failed in his attempt upon Stratonicia.

Hybreas, the Orator whom I have had occasion already to mention, did the duty of a good citizen upon this occasion, and animated the Carians, his countrymen, to defend themselves with courage. As he was a man of an agreeable wit, he ridiculed the vanity of Labienus,

bienus, and in order to contrast the title of *Parthian*, which that general took, he caused himself to be called *Carian*. This pleasantry was very well founded, for Labienus acted quite the reverse of the Roman generals, who borrow'd new surnames of the provinces which they had vanquished, and not of those whom he led to make war against their countrymen. The success afterwards was not favourable to Hybreas; his country and the town of Mylasa were ruined, as I have said, and he himself obliged to retire to the island of Rhodes, in order to save his life.

Such was the situation of affairs when Ventidius arrived in Asia, being sent by Antony, who had just concluded the treaty at Brundusium with Octavius. As soon as he arrived, things entirely changed their appearance. Labienus retreated immediately as far as mount Taurus, in order to be supplied with the forces of the Parthians, the main body of which remained still in Syria. Ventidius followed them; and upon approaching the army of the Parthians, knowing the superiority of the cavalry of that nation in fighting upon plain ground, he encamped upon a height, affecting a shew of timidity. The enemy, proud of their numbers, and the victories which they had gained, came and imprudently attacked him upon a rising ground. In a kind of fight where agility of motion or arrows were of little service; all the advantage was on the side of the Romans. They had greatly the better of the Parthians, and without trouble or risk cut them in pieces, and routed them. Labienus saved himself by flight: But was known, after he had wandered some time in Cilicia, by

A. R. 714.

Ant. C. 38.

Strabo l.

XIV. p.

660. &

Dio.

*Ventidius,**Antony's**lieutenant**arrives,**and obtains**over the**Parthians**two victo-**ries suc-**cessively.*

A. R. 714 Demetrius, a freedman of Cæsar the Dictator,
 Ant. C. 38. and proposed by Antony for the government
 of the island of Cyprus, who took him pri-
 soner, and, very probably, put him to death.
 What makes me of this opinion is, that history
 makes no more mention of him after he was
 taken. This first victory of Ventidius, restored
 to Antony all the country which Labienus had
 taken from him in Asia.

It was presently followed by a second, in
 which the Satrap Barzapharnes was killed, and
 which recovered to the Romans all Syria.
 There was only the little island of Aradus,
 which persisted in rebellion; because it had
 offended Antony too much, to hope for any
 favour. The inhabitants of Aradus had burnt
 alive Curtius Salassus, who came to raise con-
 tributions upon them for Antony. They were
 obstinate in maintaining the siege, which was
 long. For they were a courageous people, and
 skilful in war. But their forces were too un-
 equal to be able to get the better.

Antony, jealous of Ventidius, It was upon occasion of these two victories
the glory of of Ventidius, that Antony celebrated at Athens
leaves the feast which I have given an account of. I
Atbens to have added that the Triumvir, jealous of the
put himself honour of his lieutenant, marched speedily to
at the head gather those laurels which properly belonged
of his ar- to him, and the honour of which he only bor-
mies. owed. But before he arrived at the army,
Piat. Ant. Ventidius had obtained a third victory, which
 might be looked upon as putting an end to
 the war.

Pascorus returned into Syria with a num-
 rous army, during the Consulship of Ap. Clau-
 dius and Norbanus, and had he made haste to
 pass the Euphrates, he would very much have
 em-

embarrass'd Ventidius, who had not, at that time, all his forces assembled, and a part of whose legions was then in Cappadocia, beyond mount Taurus. In order to prevent this from happening, he made use of artifice. There was in his camp a Syrian prince, named Channæus, who he knew kept a correspondence with the Parthians. Ventidius instead of punishing him, or shewing any distrust, feigned sometimes to consult him, and on the occasion which we are now speaking of he told him, that he should be very glad if the enemy would pass the river at Zeugma, according to their usual custom; because in that country there were heights, which he knew how to make use of against them; but that he should look upon it as an unfavourable circumstance to him, if they went to search for a passage below, where they would find plains very commodious for the operations of their cavalry. The perfidious Channæus laid hold of this false confidence, and, being imposed upon by Ventidius, he imposed upon the prince of the Parthians, who thought he could not take a better resolution than that which the enemy was afraid of. This retarded Pacorus forty days, both on account of the large sweep he was obliged to take, and because the river being very broad at the part where he passed it, the throwing a bridge over it took up a great deal of time. During this interval, Ventidius had sufficient leisure to assemble his troops, and he had his army compleat three days before the Parthians had passed the river.

The two armies met in the Cyrrhestica, a country of Syria, and they were not long in sight of each other before they came to blows.

A. R. 714. The Parthians, tho' they had been twice defeated by Ventidius, had lost nothing of their rash presumption, but became new dupes to the same appearance of timidity, by which that general had before drawn them into the snare. Pacorus, seeing that the Romans kept close in their camp, came to attack them. But he was not only repulsed, but lost the best of his troops, and even his life. He died fighting valiantly, and his death compleated the rout of his army. The Romans obtained an entire victory, and they reckon'd then that they had payed back the Parthians, for the defeat of Crassus. The fliers divided themselves. Those who attempted to get back to the bridge, were the most part prevented and slain by the victors. The rest retired to Antiochus king of Commagena.

Ventidius dares not post his advantages, for fear of Antony. If Ventidius had pursued his victory, and entered Mesopotamia, the empire of the Parthians had been exposed to very great danger. For the death of Pacorus had spread an extraordinary consternation amongst them. But *the jealousy of Antony.* well served his general, and he did not think that it was at all prudent to exasperate, by a new success, his jealousy, which had already been carried but too far. He therefore contented himself with bringing back to their duty the little princes and towns of Syria, which still preserved an affection for the Parthians; and knowing that Pacorus made himself equally beloved by the Syrians for his justice, as admired for his bravery, he order'd his head to be carried all round the country, that being convinced of his death by the testimony of their own eyes, the people might more easily forget

Plut. & Dio.

forget a prince, whom they could never be ^{A. R. 714.} _{Ant. C. 38.} detach'd from while they thought he was alive.

All submitted to the conqueror ; only Antiochus of Commagena, who was summon'd to deliver the Parthians, that had fled to him for refuge, refused to obey. Ventidius went therefore to besiege him in Samosatis, his capital, and very soon obliged him to desire to capitulate for the sum of a thousand talents. The express orders of Antony hindered this proposal from being accepted. He was just upon his arrival, and he wanted to reserve for himself at least this last exploit, and to take the town of Samosatis by force. But his political jealousy turned out very ill. The ardour of the soldiers cool'd when they saw Ventidius, instead of being honoured and recompenced, turn'd out of all employment. And, on the contrary, the courage of the besieged was animated, by the despair which the refusal of their offer occasion'd. The siege then was spun out to a great length, and Antony at last was extremely glad to accept of three hundred talents instead of a thousand, and to grant a peace to Antiochus for this sum.

This was the only fruit of Antony's expedition. He then returned to Octavia at Athens, whose lover he was at that time, as well as her husband. Happy, if that lawful passion for his wife, had effaced for ever from his heart the remembrance of Cleopatra.

They decreed him a triumph at Rome for the victories of Ventidius ; and in this there was nothing contradictory to the Roman laws, because it was the custom with them, always to attribute the honour of military successes to

A. R. 714. the general, under whose auspices they were
 Ant. C. 38. obtain'd.

*The tri-
umph of
Ventidius.* The true conqueror however was not frustrated of his reward; for Antony, altho' he was jealous of his lieutenant, was not of an unjust or malicious character, and did not envy Ventidius the triumph he so well deserved.

The triumph decreed to Antony was not celebrated, because that general was always employed in other affairs, which he thought preferable. But Ventidius, to whom such an honour was extremely agreeable, went to Rome to triumph over the Parthians. The ceremony was celebrated very pompously the twenty eighth of December. They saw, not without astonishment in Rome, a triumper, who had himself been formerly led in triumph. And another singularity, which increased the glory of Ventidius, was, his being the first who had triumphed over the Parthians, and he was a long time the only one. His extraordinary merit had raised him from obscurity, and he was only obliged to Antony's friendship, for giving him opportunities of exercising his talents. Josephus and Dio accuse him of avarice, which is the only fault which history has laid to his charge.

*The taking
of Jeru-
salem by
Antiochus and
Herod.
Joseph.* The victories of Ventidius paved the way for Herod's advancement, by depriving Antigonus of the aid of the Parthians. This however was not an easy affair, to destroy Antigonus, even after he had only his own forces to trust to. That prince, supported by his courage, and the affection of the greatest part of the nation of Judia, made a resistance at least for the space of a year; and Sosius, who had been settled

settled governor of Syria, by Antony, was A. R. 714.
obliged to employ all the Roman troops un- Ant. C. 38.
der his command against so unequal an enemy.
The city of Jerusalem, besieged not only
by Herod, but by Sosius, at the head of a
Roman army, consisting of eleven legions, de-
fended itself for the space of five months. It
was taken piece by piece; the besieged in-
trenching themselves always further in, in pro-
portion as they abandoned what was forced by
the enemy. In short, the temple, which was
their last resource, and in the sanctity of which,
these sensual people placed a blind confidence,
was taken by assault, on the sabbath, when they
celebrated the solemn fast of the third month;
and consequently the same day that Pompey
made himself master of it twenty six years be-
fore. For I have placed that event here,
which happened the year following.

The victors overflowed Jerusalem with the
blood of its inhabitants, without distinction
either of age or Sex. The indignation of the
Romans was animated by the obstinate defence
of the besieged, and the hatred of party, which
was still more violent, pushed the Jews, who
were attached to Herod, to grant no quarter
to their unfortunate countrymen. However,
after the first fury was satisfied, Herod saved
the remains of that wretched city. He repre-
sented to the soldiers, that if they insisted upon
plundering it, they would make him king
of a desert. But these representations would
have had very little effect, if they had not been
enforced by money, which he liberally distri-
buted amongst the Romans, from the general
to the common soldier.

Herod

A. R. 7¹⁴. Herod took also great pains to hinder the prophanation of the temple, by putting a stop to the indiscreet and eager curiosity of this multitude of strangers and gentiles. This great care of his deserves to be commended, provided it was the effect of zeal in him, and not to be attributed to a selfish policy, and the desire of gaining the affection of the people, he was going to reign over.

Antigonus For the throne was his only object, and he *whipt with* sacrificed every thing to his ambition. Thus *rods, and* as the life of Antigonus must create eternal dis- *put to death* quietudes in him, and always render uncertain *like a cri-* his possession of the crown, he shewed no *minal.* generosity with regard to that unfortunate *Herod put* prince. On the contrary, he was obstinately *in peaceable* bent on pursuing him to death. Antigonus, *possession of* by a conduct very little worthy of that courage *the crown.* which he had till then discovered, gave himself up willingly into the hands of Sosius, who sent him, in chains, to Antioch, whither *Antony was return'd*; where Herod by his money and solicitations obtained, that he should be tried for his life as a criminal.

Plut. Dio. He was condemned, bound to a post, beaten *Jos.* with rods, and at last beheaded by the hands of a lictor, punishments which the Romans had never before inflicted upon any crown'd head. In him ended the reign of the Asmoneans, who had exercised the sovereign power, together with the high-priesthood, during the space of six-score years. Herod saw himself then at the height of his wishes, no more simply adorned with the vain title of Royalty, but in real and peaceable possession of a kingdom, which some years before he rather longed after, than hoped for.

We

We must now return to the affairs of Rome, ^{A. R. 714.} and Italy, which present us with a spectacle not ^{Ant. C. 38.} less animated, though less shining in history.

The confusion, and contempt of all the laws, *Confusion,* continued to disfigure the face of the city. *and con-* During that year which the Consuls, <sup>temp of all
the laws in
Rome.</sup> Appius Claudius and Norbanus began, they reckoned sixty-seven Prætors; the Triumviri Dio. multiplying the number of magistrates without measure, by deposing and restoring as they took it into their heads. The Quæstorship, for which none could be regularly named before the age of twenty-seven years, was given to a youth who had not yet laid aside the *Toga prætexta*; and he put on the *Virilis* next day after he was named. A Senator newly created wanted to fight as a gladiator; but he was prevented, and they made a decree, forbidding this inhuman debasement of the Senatorial dignity. But fury and perverseness had more force than this decree, which was frequently violated under the following emperors.

The affairs which employed Octavius, and <sup>falls in
love with
Livia.</sup> Octavius were constantly his main object, did not however hinder his being sensible to love. Livia found means to inspire him with a strong and lasting passion, more by the power of her wit, than the charms of her beauty. She was lately returned to Rome with her husband, Tiberius Nero. I have mentioned before, that a zeal for the Republick, after the Perusian war, had made him fly into Sicily with his whole family. There, his pride and haughtiness could not stoop to that complacency which Sextus demanded; and he went into Greece after <sup>Suet. Tib.
c. 4.</sup> Anthony, who brought him back with him into Italy.

Livia

A. R. 714. Livia was but a short while in Rome till she
 A. E. C. 53. engaged the affection of Octavius. He was
^{He divorces} indeed married, but the peevish humour of
^{Scribonia} Scribonia his wife was very disagreeabl to
^{the same} him, and perhaps the insinuating gentleness of
^{day she} Livia, contributed not a little to make Scri-
^{was deli-} bonia's rough behaviour the more insuppor-
^{vered of} table. He used so little ceremony with her,
^{Julia.} ^{Suct. Aug.} that he divorced her the same day she was de-
^{15. & 18.} livered of a daughter, who turned out after-
^{Dio.} wards the too famous Julia.

^{He marries} Presently Octavius wanted to contract a
^{Livia,} marriage with her whom he was in love with.
^{who was} But there was an obstacle in the way, which
^{yielded to} appeared likely to retard it, for she was six
^{him by her} months gone with child, and they could not,
^{husband,} without breaking through all the laws and
^{when she} rules of decency, dispense with waiting till she
^{was fix} was deliver'd. The impatience of Octavius
^{months gone} would not suffer this delay, but attentive and
^{with child.} skilful in finding of colours, to save at least
 external appearances, he consulted the college
 of the Pontiffs upon that extraordinary ques-
 tion, if a woman in Livia's situation could be
 lawfully married? To this ^a consultation,
 which was rather a derision, as Tacitus calls
 it, the Pontiffs answered gravely, that pro-
 vided it was uncertain who was the father of
 the child, the marriage could not be suffer'd;
 but that the circumstance of a child conceived
 lawful wedlock, being well known after the
 mother hath been six months pregnant, there
 could be no difficulty in the case proposed.
 Such was the decision of the Pontiffs, con-

^a Consulti per iudicium Pontifices, an concepto necdum edito parte rite nuberet. Tac. Ann. l. 10.

formable perhaps, says Dio, to what they found in their books. But if their books had told them the contrary, their answer would certainly have been the same.

The next thing they had to consider, was Vell. II. the ceremony of the marriage, in which Livia's husband performed the office of a father, with regard to her, and authorized her to engage with Octavius. At the marriage supper, the simplicity of a child, whom Livia amused herself with, rebuked the new married couple for the indecency of their conduct. For as Octavius and Livia were upon the same couch at table, and Tiberius Nero upon another, the little slave, who did not yet understand the reason of it, approach'd in a surprise to Livia, and said to her, *What do you do there, madam? Bebold your husband, shewing Tiberius Nero to her, who is at a great distance from you.*

At the end of three months Livia was delivered of a second son, whose name was *Drusus*. Drusus, and Octavius did not fail to send him to Tiberius Nero, as being his father. But he could not, by this precaution, hinder people from believing that the child was his own. There was a Greek verse current amongst the people, to this purpose, “ The ² happy have children after three months marriage.” However it is difficult to persuade one's self that Octavius looked upon Drusus as his son, if one reflects, that when he came to name a successor to the empire, he prefer'd to him Marcellus his nephew, Agrippa his son-in-law, and the sons of his daughter.

Tiberius Nero lived only five years after the birth of Drusus, and when he was dying he

* Τοῖς εὐτυχεστοῖς τείμαντα παιδία. *Suet. Claud. c. I.*

A. R. 7¹⁴ named Octavius tutor to his two sons. The
 Ant. C. 3⁸. eldest, who became afterwards the emperor
 Tiberius ^{and Drusus} Tiberius, was at that time only nine years of
^{brought up} age. Thus his ⁴ education, as well as that of
^{in the pa-} his brother, was directed by the authority, in
^{lace of} the palace, and under the eyes of the first man
 Octavius. in the universe, who acted the part of a father
 Suet. Tib. 4. 5. 6. the more heartily to them, as his attachment
 for their mother never diminished.

Causes of the rupture between Octavius and Sextus. The peace, which was concluded the preceding year, between Sextus Pompeius and the Triumviri, was not of long duration. Octavius and Sextus had consented to it against their Appian. will, and occasions of rupture can never be Civil. I. V. long wanting to those who are in quest of Dio. 1. them.

xlviii. Sextus complain'd both of Antony and Octavius. Of Antony, for detaining from him the island of Achaia, which had been yielded to him by the treaty of Misenum; and of Octavius, for not allowing the citizens who were re-established by the same treaty, those advantages which had been promised them. In consequence of these violations, he alledged, that he had a right to free himself of an engagement which confined him extremely. It was not without the greatest regret and fear, that he saw himself constrained not to augment his forces, while those of the Triumviri were infinitely superior. He caused new vessels to be built, engaged rowers, and even secretly authorized the pyrates, whom he had promised to

* *Sensere (Rhæti) quid mens rite, quid in doles
 Nutrita facitis sub penetralibus
 Polet, quid Augusti paternus
 In pueros animus Nerones.*

Hr. Od. IV. 4.

repress,

repress, to seize the provisions which were coming by sea to Rome, and other places in Italy, so that the famine, which had scarce given them time to breathe, began again to press them almost as hard as before. And that peace, which at first was received with such universal applause, seem'd to the Romans to procure them no other advantage, than that of adding a fourth tyrant to the three, which before oppress'd them,

In the design which Octavius had to renew the war, nothing could happen more agreeable to his wishes, than this conduct of Sextus, especially with respect to the provisions, so interesting to the multitude, and so capable of irritating them against the author of their misery. On this account, he studied to make a full discovery of the collusion of Sextus with the pyrates, who infested the seas. Some of these pyrates, having been made prisoners, were by his order put to the torture, and he caused their depositions, which laid the blame upon Sextus, to be published. He confirmed this first testimony by that of Menas, who at this time came over to him, unworthily betraying his patron and benefactor.

It appears that Menas had courage for war, *Menas*, and skill in sea affairs; but he was proud *made free* and arrogant, and join'd to those vices all the *by Sextus*, meanness of the soul of a slave. As he go- *goes into* vernal absolutely his patron, his authority was *Octavius's* *service*. insupportable to those illustrious Romans, who still acknowledged Sextus as their chief. They had tried to shake off the yoke themselves by ruining his credit; but seeing that Sextus gave no ear to any but his freedmen, they had recourse to this method, and stir'd up the

A. R. 114. jealousy of Menas's fraternity. These, under
Ant. C. 38. the authority of those great men, were easily
determined to do that which they had a strong
inclination to before. They prevail'd in raising
suspicions in the mind of their patron, and an
order was sent to Menas, who commanded in
Sardinia, to come and give an account of his
administration.

Menas, who was artful, had foreseen the
storm, and the preceding year had made his
court to Octavius, by sending to him one of
his freedmen, named Helenus, taken in a
battle in Sardinia. Helenus was very well
esteemed by his patron, who consequently had
been touch'd with the politeness of Menas.
After this first introduction, Menas continued
to embrace every occasion of rendering him-
self agreeable to Octavius, and when he saw
his disgrace resolved upon, he found means to
acquaint him, that he would deliver to him
all that he had under his command; that is to
say, the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, three
legions, sixty gallies, and a considerable num-
ber of brave officers. Octavius was in doubt
some time, whether he should accept the offers
of a traitor, whom he was very sensible he
could not trust. In fine, the present advan-
tage he would be of to him carried it, and
Menas, having received assurances in time,
caused to be stoped and put to death, those
who had been sent from Sextus, and passed
over with his fleet and troops to the colours of
Octavius. He was received with a distinction
which was not granted to his person, but to
the assistance which he brought with him. The
Triumviri order'd, that he should enjoy the
same honours as those who were born free; he
adorned

adorned him with a gold ring, and admitted him into the order of the Roman knights. He even allowed him to sit at his table, an honour which he never granted, either before or after, to any freedman. In short, he gave him the title and rank of lieutenant general; that so in this quality he might command, under the admiral Calvisius Sabinus, the sixty vessels which he had brought with him.

Sextus was extremely irritated at the treachery of Menas; he even demanded him back as a fugitive slave to whom he had a right, and in order to revenge himself of Octavius's refusing to send him back, he sent Menecrates, one of his freedmen, with a squadron to plunder the coast of Campania. By this hostility, Octavius alledged that the peace was absolutely broke. He took out of the hands of the Vestals, the treaty of Misenum, and wrote to Antony and Lepidus, to come and join with him against the common enemy. Lepidus, who was not easily put in motion, remained still in Africa, and Antony was ready to set out to take upon him the command of the troops, which fought against the Parthians, under Ventidius, at the time when he received Octavius's letter. He came to Brundusium, but his colleague not meeting him there, he returned immediately. The formidable preparations of Octavius had given him umbrage, and laying hold of the war of the Parthians, which demanded his presence, he wrote to the young Triumvir, that he must of necessity go into Syria, and he advised that the treaty should be observed; and rejecting the cause of the rupture concerning Menas, he threaten'd to demand him in quality of the purchaser of Pompey's estate, of

A. R. 714 which Menas, as a slave, must be consider'd
 A. S. C. 58. as a part.

*Prepara-
 tions of
 Octavius
 for the
 war.* Octavius thus reduced to act alone, pursu'd his project with no less eagerness on that account. He had two numerous fleets, the one composed mostly of the vessels of Menas, and commanded, as I have said, by Calvisius Sabinus, the other built and equipped at Ravenna, upon the Adriatic sea, which had for admiral L. Cornificius. These two fleets, the last of which Octavius wanted to command in person, were according to his plan, to attack the two opposite sides of Sicily at the same time; and his legions were to march by land to Reggio, in order to compleat the victory by passing into Sicily, after having rendered himself master of the sea, by means of his naval forces. But the success did not answer such formidable and well concerted plans and preparations.

Sextus had taken measures for a vigorous resistance. For having likewise divided his forces, he had sent Menecrates at the head of a part of his fleet, before Calvisius, and he himself remained at Messina, in order to wait for Octavius.

*A sea-fight
 near Cumæ.* Menecrates was brave, a good seaman, and a personal enemy to the traitor Menas. As soon as he came in sight of the fleet near Cumæ, where his adversary was, he wanted to engage him; but it appears that Calvisius had orders to shun it. It is certain, that instead of accepting the challenge, he continued to sheer off along the coast, advancing towards the Streights. Menecrates laid hold on this opportunity of attacking the fleet with advantage, and to hem them in to the land, whilst his

his rear was free, and he had liberty of steering his vessels as he pleased. He had already destroy'd, sunk, and disabled several vessels, when he observed that of Menas, who also observ'd him. Their mutual hatred carried these two rivals to leave every thing else to tear one another to pieces. The shock was so violent, that the beak of the one vessel was carried away, and the other lost all its oars on one side. They endeavour'd to board each other, but the vessel of Menas had a great advantage over that of Menecrates, because it was higher in the side. In the middle of the engagement the two chiefs were wounded, almost at the same time, Menas in the arm, and Menecrates in the thigh. The wound of Menas was not very considerable, but Menecrates was rendered unable for the combat, and not capable of fighting any more in person, animated his men in the mean while to exert themselves; till seeing his vessel taken, he threw himself into the sea, that he might not fall into the power of his enemy.

The death of Menecrates render'd the battle almost equal between the two parties. Demochares his lieutenant, and a freedman of Sextus, as well as himself, tho' he had neither lost near so many men nor vessels as Calvisius, nevertheless retired into the port of Messina, and left to Octavius's admiral the liberty of pursuing his course in order to join his general.

Octavius having received the news of the sea-fight near Cumæ, sail'd out of the port of Reggio, with his fleet furnished with good troops, and passed the Streights, coasting towards Italy, to receive his lieutenant. Sextus observed, from Messina, the motions of Octavius having

A. R. 712. vius. He followed him, and having come
 A. M. C. 40. up with him near the rock of Scylla, so famous
 in fable, he attacked him very briskly. The
 position of the two fleets was nearly the same, as
 at the fight of Cuma, and the success not at all
 different. All the bravery of the legionary
 soldiers of Octavius, could not resist the supe-
 riority which their skill in sea affairs, and the
 advantage of their situation, gave to Sextus's
 people. Demochares, who had been put in
 the room of Menecrates by Sextus, seconded
 by Apollophanes, another of his freedmen,
 sunk and burnt a great many of the enemies
 vessels, and perhaps they would all have either
 been destroyed or taken, if in the evening the
 victors had not observed Calvisius coming up ;
 upon which they retired, leaving the fleet of
 Octavius in expressible disorder.

The terror they were in was so strong, that
 the greatest part left their vessels and saved
 themselves by land, where the night soon over-
 took them, before they were able to find either
 a shelter to defend themselves from the in-
 clemencies of the air, or provisions for their
 support. The only resource which was left
 them was to light up fires, in order to inform
 the neighbourhood that they had need of as-
 sistance. They did not so much as know that
 Calvisius was near them, because they could
 not discover his fleet, which was hid by the
 coast.

In the midit of this fearful and distress'd
 multitude, Octavius preserved an undaunted
 courage. Destitute himself of every thing, he
 was wholly occupied about his soldiers, going
 about and exhorting them to have patience till
 day-light ; and very luckily a legion, which
 was

was not far off, having perceived the signals, ^{A. R. 714.} made haste to the places where they saw the fires lighted, carrying with them such refreshments as were necessary, both for the general and for the troops. In the mean time Octavius was informed of Calvisius's arrival, which restor'd his tranquillity, and allowed him to take some rest.

The return of day-light, presented to them ^{A tempest completes the ruin of the naval forces of Octavius.} a dismal spectacle of vessels shattered to pieces, or damaged by the fire, and their cordage floating on the surface of the waves. But this was not all. A storm came to complete the destruction of those who had escaped from the enemy. For all of a sudden there sprung up such a violent South-wind, that no art nor force was able to resist it. Sextus had conveyed his fleet into the port of Messina, but that of Octavius was driven against the rocks, upon coasts which afforded no kind of shelter; and to compleat their misfortunes they wanted a sufficient number of sailors to manage their vessels, the greatest part having fled on shore after the fight.

The fleet of Calvisius did not suffer so much, because Menas, who was well acquainted with sea affairs, no sooner saw the tempest begin to arise, than he made towards the ocean, where the waves were not so strong; and there having cast anchor, he order'd his whole crew to row violently against the direction of the wind, and thus he kept his station, gaining as much by his oars as he lost by the wind.

On the contrary, the fleet which Octavius commanded in person, having kept near the shore, was prodigiously shattered. The vio-

A. R. 7⁴ lence of the wind and sea drove them from
An. C. 3⁸. their anchors, broke their cordage, and the vessels driving against one another, or forced against the rocks, were almost all destroy'd, together with the greatest part of the men who were on board. This furious tempest lasted a whole day and a night, so that it had time enough to complete the disaster of Octavius.

He was so excessively grieved, that not being able to bear the sight of an accident which he could not possibly redress, he retired to Vibo, and from thence he distributed his land forces, in all the maritime places, to protect them against the incursions which his enemy might attempt upon Italy, after so great an ad-
Sextus does not know vantage. But Sextus, more courageous in *defending* himself, than keen in attacking Octa-
he does not make a tavius, let slip this good opportunity; and by *an inexcusable negligence*, he not only made *no attempt* upon any of the towns on the coast, *but he even did not pursue* the remains of the Triumvir's fleet, and left them to retreat quietly, and regain Vibo, towing along such ships as they hoped might be refitted for service.

Octavius's loss was so great, that in spite of *Sextus's indolence*, it required the space of two years to recruit his force and make new preparations. For bad success never dispirited him, and he never lost sight of his design to destroy the great enemy of his family. The murmurs of the people of Italy, who suffered famine, were a motive for him not to abandon his scheme, but to make all possible dispatch to bring it speedily to a happy conclusion.

Writers have observed a great resemblance of fortune between Octavius and Antony in this, viz. that both of them succeeded better in their military enterprizes by their lieutenants, than themselves. The war against the Parthians was an evident proof of it with regard to Antony; and as to Octavius, while he was defeated on the coast of Italy, both by the enemy and a tempest, his arms prospered in Gaul under Agrippa.

This man, sprung from a low family, but possessed of very great talents, and raised to an illustrious rank by the favour of Octavius, to whom he had always been the most faithful ^{umpb.} friend from his youth, brought back to their duty the rebellious Gauls, and had the glory of being the second of the Romans after Cæsar, who passed the Rhine. Octavius sending for him, named him Consul, and caused a triumph to be decreed. He accepted the Consulship, but with regard to the triumph, he did not think it was proper for him to make a shew of his victories, while his General was in trouble and unsuccessful; and being no less an able ² courtier than a great warrior, he refused an honour which would have rendered Octavius's mortification the more remarkable.

The five years of the Triumvirate now expired. But those who, under that title, had usurped the tyrannical power, were by no means disposed to lay it down, nor to restore liberty to their fellow-citizens. So far from this, they continued, without observing any formality, in the power they had usurped, and, without any authority from the people, they decreed to themselves a second Triumvirate,

Parendi sed uni, scientissimus. *Vet. II. 79.*

A. R. 714. equal and exactly resembling the first, both for
 Ant. C. 38. the extent of power and duration. Perhaps
 they thought themselves sufficiently authorized
 to do this by a decree of the Senate made two
 years before, which ratified and confirmed
 whatever they had done, or should do, during
 their magistracy.

I have already said that Agrippa had been
 designed Consul by Octavius for the following
 year. And Canidius Gallus, one of Antony's
 friends, was appointed his colleague.

A. R. 715.
 Ant. C. 37.

M. AGRIPPA.
 L. CANIDIUS GALLUS.

Sen. Con. The name of Agrippa's family was *Vipfanus*.
 uov. II. 12 But that name was so obscure, that he sup-
 press'd it after he arrived at his high fortune.

*Agrippa
 charged
 with the
 preparati-
 ons for war
 aggr. Sex.
 12.* Octavius had sent for him to charge him
 with the care of building a new fleet, and in-
 structing the rowers and seamen. He acquitted
 himself of his double employment with all the
 zeal and capacity imaginable, overlooking the
 carpenters, and presiding in the exercites in
 which they instructed twenty thousand slaves,
 to whom Octavius had given the liberty to be-
 come rowers. Nor was this all; for as the
 coast of Italy had no harbour that was conve-
 nient for him, or capable of containing a great
 number of vessels, he contrived and executed
 that great design of joining to one another,
 and with the sea, the lakes Lucrinus and Aver-
 nus, in order to make a vast bafon, where the
 most numerous fleets might be received, and
 find sufficient shelter from winds and tem-
 pests.

The

The lake of Lucrinus situated between Misena and Puzzoli, was separated from the sea by an old causeway, a mile in length, and of a sufficient breadth to allow a waggon to pass. Agrippa repaired and raised this causeway, which, being weakened in several places by the length of time, was frequently overflowed, and consequently impassable. He cut two openings in it to allow a passage for ships, and from the bottom of the lake Lucrinus, he drew a canal to the lake Avernus, which last appears to be that which properly formed the port, and afforded a secure retreat to vessels. In order to correct the bad quality of the air, which passed for infectious and pestilential, Agrippa cut down the great forests which grew upon the borders of the lake Avernus, and covering it with a very thick shade, hindered the free circulation of the air. By this means, that place so much decried, over which, if we believe the poets, the birds could not fly without feeling the effects of the poisonous exhalations which arose from the lake, and falling down dead, became a healthful, and even an agreeable station. Agrippa, always attentive to give to his chief and benefactor the glory of whatever he undertook, caused this new port to be called the *Port of Julius*, the name which Octavius had when he was adopted by Julius Cæsar. It was there that he assembled all the new vessels which had been built in the different ports of Italy, and exercised the twenty thousand rowers and sailors above mentioned.

This royal work, as ³ Horace calls it, has

* ————— Sive receptus

Terrâ Neptunus classes Aquilonibus arcet,

Regis opus.

Hor. A. P. v. 63.

been

A. R. 715.
Ant. C. 37.

The port of

Julius for-

med by the

junction of

the lakes

Lucrinus

and Aver-

nus.

Frienth.

Supl.

CXXVIII.

29.

ad

Virg. Æn.

III. 442.

A. R. 715. been likewise boasted of by ² Virgil. I should
 Ant. L. 57. be very glad of exact and circumstantial historical descriptions, to enable me to give a more just, and full description of this port to my readers. But it does not seem to have been long in use. Strabo, who wrote under the emperor Tiberius, makes very little mention of it; and I do not see that, in the history of latter ages, it has been taken much notice of. The face of these places was entirely changed about two hundred years ago, in consequence of an earthquake, which happened in the year 1538, and turned the lake Lucrinus into a mountain of ashes, surrounded entirely with a dirty morass.

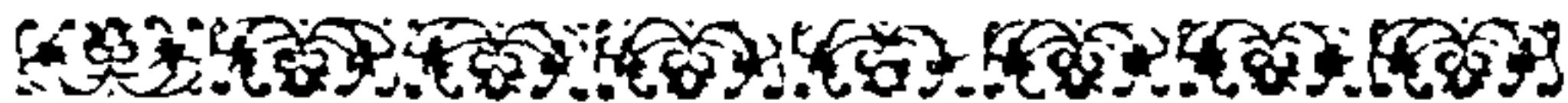
The whole year of Agrippa's Consulship passed in making preparations of war against Sextus, who, during all this time, remained entirely quiet, without discovering any signs of life, or trying any means to disturb those preparations which they were making for his ruin.

*A pretend-
ed omen
which hap-
pened to Li-
via.* I must not omit here a pretended omen which about this time happened to Livia, the circumstances of which are very singular; besides that, they are warranted by authors of approved credit. Pliny, Suetonius, and Dio, report that Livia, a little while after her marriage with Octavius, going to a country-house which she had in the territory of Veii, an eagle let fall upon her a white hen, which carried in her bill a branch of laurel with its leaves and berries. Livia, struck at this event, consulted the divines, and ordered, conformable to their an-

² *An memorem portus, Lucrinoque addita claustra?
 Atque indignum magnis stridoribus æquor,
 Ibis quia ponto lerge sonat unda refuso,
 I yrrhænique fretis immittitur æstus Avernus?* *Geor. II. 61.*
 fwer

fwer, that the hen should be taken care of, and the laurel planted and cultivated. Their care succeeded ; the hen became so fruitful, that she filled the whole poultry-yard with her breed ; and the house from thence was called the *Hen-house*. The laurel too flourished in such a manner, that it furnished branches for all the triumphs of the Cæsars. Suetonius adds, that at the death of Nero, the last Emperor of the race of Augustus, all the fowls died, and the laurel withered. But in this last circumstance he is contradicted by Pliny, who speaks of the plants of this laurel as subsisting at the time when he wrote under the emperor Vespasian.

I see nothing impossible in all this, nor indeed very remarkable, except it is the credulous superstition of those, who put an ominous construction on every thing out of the common road. They judged, that this presage promised to Livia, and the house of the Cæsars to which she was join'd, an extraordinary prosperity. But there was wanting in the completion of it the greatest mark of resemblance, I mean her fruitfulness. For Livia had never a child by Augustus, but one who died the moment it was born.



BOOK LI.

Sextus Pompeius overcome, and Lepidus dispossessed by Augustus. The unfortunate expedition of Antony against the Parthians. The death of Sextus. Detached facts. Years of Rome 716-723.

§. I.

Octavius demands the conjunction of Antony and Lepidus against Sextus. The forces of Lepidus. Antony comes into Italy as an enemy to Octavius. Their quarrel is suppressed by the treaty of Tarentum. Octavius renewes the war against Sextus. The lustration of his fleet. Menas leaves him, and returns to his old master. A storm. The fleet of Octavius are very much shattered. Lepidus lands in Sicily. The firmness of Octavius. The negligence of Sextus. Menas returns again to Octavius. The advantage gain'd by Agrippa over the fleet of Sextus. The political circumspection of Agrippa. Octavius is defeated at sea by Sextus. He runs a very great risk himself. The troops which he had landed in Sicily, escape with great difficulty. The last battle where Sextus is vanquished without resource. He abandons Sicily, and flies into Asia. Octavius corrupts the army of Lepidus, and dispossesses him of the Triumvirate. A mutiny among the troops of Octavius. He quashes it by a conduct mixed with indulgence and firmness. A r̄stral crown given by Octavius to Agrippa.

Agrippa. Octavius remains master of Sicily, and the provinces of Africa and Numidia. The Epoch of the solid establishment of Octavius's grandeur, and at the same time of his new system of conduct, more gentle and moderate.

AFTER the Consulship of Agrippa was expired, those next appointed, were Cocceius Nerva, mediator of the treaty of Brundusium, and Gellius Poplicola, thought to be the brother of Messalla, who had formerly been in the party of Brutus and Cassius, had twice conspired against his generals, and owed his life to their clemency, and to the intreaties of his mother and brother.

L. GELLIUS POPLICOLA.
M. COCCEIUS NERVA.

A. R. 716.
Ant. C. 36.

This Consulship is very remarkable in history, for the aggrandizement of Octavius, and the debasing of Antony. Octavius having at last overcome Sextus Pompeius, and afterwards forced Lepidus to abdicate the Triumvirship, became sole master of all the western parts of the Empire. Antony plunged again into his foolish amours with Cleopatra, undertook inconsiderately, and conducted with precipitation, an expedition against the Parthians, the bad success of which covered him with ignominy. I shall begin with the first of these, which is immediately connected with the facts above related.

Octavius having succeeded ill in his attack upon Sextus, and preparing to return to the charge, was very glad, in order to procure assistance, to make his quarrel against the last

A. R. 7¹⁶. branch of the house of the great Pompey, to
 Ant. C. 36. be looked upon as interesting the whole party
^{Octavius} *demands the* of Cæsar. He dispatched then Mæcenas to
conjunction ^{of Antony} Antony to demand his conjunction and assis-
^{and Lepidus} *and Lepidus* tance, and he likewise summoned Lepidus to
comes against ^{Sextus} come with him, and finish the ruin of the op-
Vel. II. 82. posite faction. He, whatever was his *design*,
 Appian. and doubtless more to take the advantage of
 Civil. I. v. the spoils of Sextus, than to support his col-
 Dio. I. 13. *Te forces* league, assembled great forces both by sea and
^{of Lepidus.} land, viz. twelve legions, five thousand Numi-
 dian horse, a thousand transports and seventy
 vessels of war. We see by this, that his power
 was very considerable. Two great provinces,
 Africa properly so called, and Numidia obeyed him; and to render himself master of them,
 would only have cost him the trouble of pre-
 senting himself.

For by looking a little backward, the reader
 will easily call to mind, that Cornificius, at the
 time of the battle of Philippi, held Africa for
 the Senate and for the Republican party. Sex-
 tus, who possessed Numidia as lieutenant to Octavius, made war against Cornificius; and af-
 ter various success, at last vanquished and killed
 him. Thus seeing his authority established in the
 two provinces, perhaps had opened his heart to
 ambitious projects. However that be, he found
 a new adversary in Fuficius Fango, a soldier of
 fortune, raised by Cæsar to the rank of Sena-
 tor, and sent by Octavius to take possession in
 his name, of the governments of Africa, and
 of Numidia. Sextus opposed the name of An-
 tony to that of Octavius; the war was renew-
 ed, and Fango, having been vanquished, killed
 himself, leaving Sextus once more governor of
 the two provinces. In this situation of affairs,
 Lepidus

Lepidus arrived, to whom the district of Africa ^{A. R. 716.} had been given by his colleagues. It was proper then for Sextus to yield, and the Triumvir reaped the fruit of that brave captain's victories. He remained then retired, as it were, in his province, taking little share in the motions which disturbed the rest of the Empire, till, to his great misfortune, he resolved to pass into Sicily.

Antony was at Athens, when he received the deputation from Octavius, and prepared to return to the East to push the war against the Parthians. He thought proper however, in the first place, to make a voyage to Italy, and ^{comes into} ^{Ital^r as an} ^{enemy to} ^{Octavius.} ^{Appian.} ^{D:o.} he went there with a fleet of three hundred vessels. But the authority of Plutarch and the sequel of the history, give us grounds to believe, that he came rather as an enemy to Octavius, than to give him any assistance. Suspicions, reports, and jealousies, had soured anew the spirits of these two rivals, who were always on their guard against each other. Antony ^{their quar-} having landed at Tarentum, because the people of Brundusium would not receive him, Octavia, who accompanied him, obtained his leave ^{rel is sup-} ^{preffed by} ^{the treaty} ^{of Taren-} ^{tum.} to go and find her brother, that she might bring about a reconciliation between them.

She made use of the most affecting intreaties to Octavius; and in the presence of Agrippa and Mæcenas, who were the most intimate counsellors to the young Triumvir, she conjured him not to suffer that from the most happy of all women she should become the most unfortunate. "Indeed, says she, all mankind have their eyes fixed upon me, and congratulate me for partaking of the grandeur and glory of two powerful generals, the spouse of one,

A. R. 716. " and the sister of the other. But if the worst
Ant. C. 36. " resolution is taken, if you must go to war
" together, it is uncertain which of you will
" be vanquisher, or vanquished. As for me,
" my lot in either case is decided, and I must
" be unhappy."

So tender a speech was very capable of making an impression upon Octavius, who loved his sister. However, I believe, that the motive which inclined both him and Antony effectually to peace, was doubtless that which Dio relates. They had not yet sufficient leisure for war, and their present interest required that they should mutually assist each other in carrying on those designs in which they were engaged. Octavius stood in need of vessels for the war against Sextus, and Antony wanted a reinforcement of soldiers for the war which he was going to make against the Parthians. Hence rose the pacific dispositions of the two Triumviri; and after they had taken a resolution to be reconciled, they executed it with the best grace in the world.

Octavius proposed to Antony a conference between Metapontum and Tarentum. Being always more diffident, his plan was to leave between him and his colleague a small river, which would afford him means of security, but would have embarrassed and prolonged the negotiation. Antony, who was of a free and unuspicious character, when he came near the place, seeing Octavius approach, alighted from his chariot, and jumped into a little boat to pass over the river. Octavius being struck with this free behaviour, did the same. They met in the river, and there was a struggle betwixt them on which side they should land. At last

last Octavius carried it, on account of visiting his sister who was at Tarentum. He lodged there under the same roof with Antony, without guards, and putting himself entirely in his power. Antony, next day, did the same to Octavius. Thus ^{A. R. 716.} ^{Ant. C. 36.} ^a these two men passed immediately from one extreme to another in their reciprocal conduct, sometimes suspicious, and even distrustful, on account of their ambition, and sometimes testifying an excessive confidence in each other, as the particular situation of their affairs demanded.

They agreed very easily between themselves and against Sextus. They determined that he should be deprived of the Consulship promised him by the treaty of Misenum, and in order to make war against him, Antony lent Octavius one hundred and twenty vessels, in lieu of which Octavius furnished Antony with twenty thousand legionary soldiers. Octavia, by whose interposition the negotiation had been begun, wanted, after it was concluded, to confirm it effectually, by a further mutual liberality, which she obtained of each of the Triumviri, in favour of his colleague. According to her desire, there were added by her husband ten light ships of war, and by her brother a thousand chosen men, who were to serve as a guard to Antony. In short, they entered upon the scheme of a double marriage; the one of Antyllus, the eldest son of Antony, with Julia, the daughter of Octavius, who was not three years old; and the other of Antonia, the daughter of Antony and Octavia, who was also quite a child, with the son of Domitius Ahenobarbus. This

^a "Οὐλως αὐτοῖς ἦν συνεχῆς ἡ μεταβολὴ πρὸς τὰς νικορίας διὰ φιλαρχιῶν, καὶ τὰς πίστεις ὑπὸ χρείας. Appian.

A. R. 7¹⁶. last marriage took place, and began the alliance
Ant. C. 3⁶. between the family of Domitius and Cæsar.
But that of Antyllus proved abortive, as we shall see afterwards.

These different articles having been agreed to, they took leave of each other. Antony returned to the East, leaving Octavia in Italy, under pretence of not exposing her to the fatigues and dangers of the war against the Parthians, but in fact, because he began to be weary of so virtuous a woman, and his heart still wander'd after Cleopatra. Octavius being recruited with new maritime forces, apply'd himself entirely to the war against Sextus.

Octavius His hopes were raised very high. Besides that *renovas* *the* his fleets were very numerous, he had great *war a-* *gainst. Sex-* confidence in the vessels of a new construction, *sus. The* which by their force, strength, and a kind of *lustration* towers which were built upon them, seemed *of the fleet.* to give him full assurance of victory. He made a very pompous lustration of the fleet, of which ceremony Appian here gives a description. They raised altars precisely upon the borders of the sea, opposite to which were drawn up the vessels well manned with the soldiers and sailors, who all observed a profound silence. The priests, after having slain the victims, took the entrails, and going on board little skiffs, they made three tours round the fleet, accompanied with the principal commanders, who prayed the gods to let fall upon these victims all the misfortunes which the fleet might be threatened with. Afterwards, the priests threw a part of the entrails into the sea, and the other part they burnt upon the altars.

While

While Octavius was still making preparations for his expedition, Menas left him to return to his old master. He was doubtless a *leaves him, brave and able officer, but his fickleness, and oddness of character made the loss of him scarcely to be regretted.* A more troublesome incident soon followed to render abortive a plan otherwise very wisely concerted.

Sicily seemed to be threatened with being oppressed by three armies, which were preparing to pour in upon her from three different quarters all at once, one from Africa, another from Tarentum, and the third from the coast of Campania. Lepidus had assembled in Africa the forces I have before mentioned; Statilius Taurus approached the port of Tarentum, with the vessels lent to Octavius by Antony; and Octavius himself was at the head of his fleet in the port of Julius. On the first of July, a day which he chose as fortunate on account of his adoptive father's name, which this month was called by, these three armies set out by agreement. But a tempest like that which had ruined the first enterprize, returned to disturb this new well laid scheme, and rendered useless, at least for a time, these formidable preparations. Lepidus alone, though he was shattered with the storm, nevertheless landed in Sicily, on the coast of Lilybæum. Taurus was obliged to carry his fleet back to Tarentum; and that of Octavius, which had no commodious retreat, was extremely harassed, not only by the tempest, but by the perfidious Menas, who carried away and burnt several of the vessels which had been separated by the storm.

A. R. 716.
Ant. C. 36.
Menas

*and returns
to his old
master.*

*A storm.
The fleet of
Octavius
is very
much shat-
tered. Le-
poldus lands
in Sicily.*

A. R. 716. After such a disaster, a great many coun-
 Ant. C. 36. selled Octavius to put off the expedition till
<sup>The firm-
ness of Oc-
tavius.</sup> next year. But his courage, which was ren-
 Suer. Aug. dered more fierce by obstacles, transported him
^{16.} to say, that he would vanquish, even in spite
 of Neptune. The murmurs of the people,
 who suffered at this time by famine, spurred
 him on. Thus, having sent Mæcenas to Rome,
 to keep the people in awe with his presence,
 and to prevent insurrections, he made them
 work with such diligence in refitting the shat-
 tered vessels, and repairing the loss which he
 had suffered, that at the end of thirty days he
 found himself in a condition to renew the
 war.

*The negli-
gence of
Sextus.*

Sextus, according to his ordinary custom, so
 remarkably favoured by the winds and tem-
 pest, contented himself with triumphing in
 the advantages which his good fortune had
 procured him, instead of making a proper use
 of them ; and believing himself more autho-
 rized than ever, to call himself the son of Nep-
 tune, he even went so far as to wear his
 colours, and changed the purple, which the Ro-
 man generals used, for a sea-green. He of-
 fered to that god solemn sacrifices, and to ho-
 nour him, threw horses, and some say living
 men, into the sea.

*Menas re-
turns again
to Oca-
vius*

Thus, while he gave himself up to joy,
 imagining himself out of all danger for that
 year, he was greatly surprised to hear that the
 indefatigable enemy meditated another invasion
 directly. In order that he might be the more
 certain of the truth of this intelligence, he de-
 tached Menas to observe what passed on the
 coast of Italy. He who was never pleased
 with those whom he served, and never thought

that they treated him according to his merit, ^{A. R. 76.} added a third treachery to the preceding, and ^{Ant. C. 36.} went over again to Octavius. The Triumvir granted him his life, but was too wise to give any employment to a man whose perfidy rendered him unworthy of the least confidence.

Every thing being ready to invade Sicily anew, Octavius made Taurus's fleet, and his own, commanded by Agrippa, sail at the same time towards it. I shall not enter upon a detail of the operations of this war, of which we have very long, but indistinct accounts ; I shall ^{Appian.} only mention the substance of the facts, which ^{Dio.} shews, that tho' Octavius gave proofs of his activity and courage, by exposing himself every where, and to the greatest dangers, yet the victory was chiefly owing to the good conduct of Agrippa.

This great captain, who had success both by *The ad-
vantage* sea and land, began to give a turn to Octavius's *tage gain'd* affairs, by the advantage he gained in a sea-fight ^{by Agrippa} *over the* near Myle, now called Milazzo. Sextus's men <sup>fleet of Sex-
tus.</sup> had the superiority in their experience in working the ships, and the agility of their motions. But the vessels of Agrippa, which were stronger built, higher in the side, and filled with excellent troops, got the better at last, after a very long resistance, of all the skill of the enemy, who could only destroy five of Octavius's ships, and returned with the loss of thirty of their own.

Perhaps Agrippa would have rendered this *The politi-
cal circum-
specion of* victory decisive, if he had pursued the van-^{quished.} But he was cautious, either for fear of shoals so very dangerous to vessels, especially in the night-time ; or else it was owing to a political reason. For it was one of his

A. R. 7¹⁶. maxims, that subalterns ought to take care not
 Ant. C. 5⁶. to provoke, by too great success, the jealousy
 of their masters; who doubtless, do not chuse
 that they should do any thing to disgrace
 them, but at the same time take umbrage at
 the too great splendour of their prosperity.
 So that if, on the one hand, they ought to be
 careful to prevent bad success, on the other,
 they ought to reserve the honour of great vic-
 tories for the Chief whom they serve under.

Cæcilius Before the fight of Myle, Sextus, who fore-
sacrificed at saw it, had left Messina, his place of arms, with
70 by Sex. seventy vessels, to go and assist his lieutenants,
tau.

* *Tau-* whereby the passage of the Streights was left
mina. open and unguarded. Octavius laid hold on
 this opportunity to enter into Sicily; and setting
 out immediately at the head of Antony's fleet,
 which waited only for the signal, he landed with
 three legions near * Tauromenium. Sextus's
 fleet had been beat, but not destroy'd, at Myle,
 and he made all the haste he could to bring it
 back to Messina. Thus at the first news of the
 descent of Octavius, he found himself in a con-
 dition to march to him. He then put his ves-
 sels to sea, landed his legions, and disposing
 himself to attack the enemy both by sea and
 land at the same time, he threw him into a very
 great disorder.

Octavius resolved to leave his land forces
 under the command of L. Cornificius, to whom
 he gave orders to fortify a camp; and as for
 himself going on board the fleet again, he of-
 fered battle to that of Sextus, which he thought
 to have cheap, because it had been defeated.
 His plan doubtless was, after he had dispersed
 the enemy's fleet, to go to † Leucopetra, in
 dell' armi. order to take up the legions which waited
 there,

there, commanded by Messala, and to carry them to Sicily to join those of Cornificius. But his hopes in that affair were greatly disappointed. Sextus had found at Messina, both soldiers and sailors, ready to replace those whom he had lost. His fleet, thus recruited, gained a complete victory. The vessels of Octavius were either taken, burnt, or sunk, except a very small number, which not being pursued by Sextus, fled into Italy. Octavius *He runs a* himself run a very great risk, and it was with *very great* the greatest difficulty that he saved himself in *risk him- self.* a boat with a single domestic, without any either of his friends or guards, extremely troubled, and ill at the same time. However he arrived at last at Messala's camp; where his first care was to dispatch to Cornificius a light vessel, to inform him that his general was safe, and preparing to send him succours. Accordingly he wrote to Agrippa, to assist Cornificius with a speedy reinforcement. Agrippa, taking the advantage of the distance of Sextus's forces, had taken possession of the city of Tindarium, from whence he sent Laronius at the head of three legions, to make all possible dispatch to deliver Cornificius from so pressing a danger.

In short, Cornificius wanted provisions, and consequently all the bravery of his troops, and the advantage of a well fortified camp, were thereby rendered absolutely useless. He was obliged to decamp in sight of the enemy, and march his army over a corner of Sicily, viz. from Tauromenium, on the Ionian sea, as far as Myle, on the sea of Tuscany. It may easily be conceived what difficulties he must meet with, constantly followed and harass'd by Sextus,

A. R. 7¹⁶.
A. v. C. 56. tus, and having under his care, not only the baggage but also a number of unarmed soldiers, the unfortunate remains of the last naval engagement, who, naked and destitute of every thing, had found a safe refuge in his camp.

This army in their rout met with a very singular obstacle, peculiar to the country thro' which they march'd. This was a kind of earth scorched with the streams of fire which had run down from mount \textcircumflex Etna, and extended to the sea. This burnt earth, when it was shaken, by the motion of those who marched over it, raised a suffocating dust; nay, it even burnt the soals of their feet, and kindled an intollerable thirst in their veins. The soldiers were fatigued, overcome, and discouraged. Their chief revived them by his exhortations, and the example of firmness which he shewed them; so that in spite of being extremely exhausted, and of the enemy who lined the defile where this burning plain terminated, they still pushed on, without allowing themselves to be broke. At last after four days march, the most fatiguing that can be imagined, they discovered Laronius, whose arrival put an end to all their troubles. For Sextus taking the detachment, which he saw coming up, for Agrippa's whole army, thought proper to retire.

Thus delivered from the fear of the enemy, the soldiers of Cornificius met with a new danger, in what ought to have given them the greatest relief. As they had greatly suffered from thirst, they no sooner perceived a fountain than they ran to drink greedily, contrary to the repeated advice of their officers, who recommended it strongly to them not to drink too

too much. But a great many of them died, ^{A. R. 716.} ^{Ant. C. 36.} gorged with the quantity of water which they swallowed down too hastily.

As to the rest, these legions might be looked upon as victorious, not only over the efforts of Sextus, but whatever is superior to human strength, to hunger, thirst, and burning heat. Octavius loaded them with praises and rewards, as soon as he came to join Agrippa at Tyndarium; and Cornificius, their commander, was so proud of having saved them, that he perpetuated rejoicings for it during his whole life, making use of an Elephant in returning home, every time that he supped in the city.

The taking of Tyndarium by Agrippa was *The last* an important conquest for Octavius, to whom ^{battle,} it secured an entrance into Sicily. This port ^{where} being open to him, he landed in that island a great number of troops, and augmented his ^{without} land army, by adding to it one and twenty ^{resource.} legions, twenty thousand horse, and five thousand light-armed troops. Then Lepidus, who had till that time kept near Lilybæum, advanced into the country; and the two Triumviri united their forces before the walls of Messina.

There a division very soon arose between them. Lepidus pretending to an equality with Octavius, and the other full of contempt for a colleague of so little merit, wanted to reduce him to the condition of his lieutenant. The indignation which Lepidus conceived at such injurious treatment, made him incline towards Sextus, and enter into a negotiation with him. Octavius either suspected this, or else was informed of it; and this motive determined him to finish the war before their treaty should

A. R. 7¹⁶. should be concluded. If it had not been for this, Ant. C. 3⁶. his interest would have led him to have avoided an action. For he saw himself in a condition to overcome without fighting, considering the great superiority of his forces, and the ease by which he would deprive his enemy of provisions, being master of the country. Sextus on his part, whose affairs were declining, and who feared, in consequence of that, the desertion both of his officers and troops, was anxious to decide the quarrel by a battle. But it was much more convenient for him to fight by sea, than by land. In the first case, he had some hopes of overcoming, whereas his legions could not possibly stand it against Octavius. He therefore proposed a naval engagement to Octavius, who was ashamed to refuse the challenge. The day was set, and the two fleets of three hundred vessels each, commanded by the lieutenants of the two generals, Agrippa on the one side, and on the other Demochares and Apollophanes, a freedman of Sextus, ranged themselves in good order between Myle and Naulochus; while the legions, headed by the generals themselves, were drawn up upon the coast, as spectators of the combat.

The action was very brisk, and the victory a long while doubtful. At last the fleet of Octavius had the better, which was in a great Rom. Hist. measure owing to the grapples, which we V. IV. spoke of on occasion of the first naval victory of the Romans. Agrippa had perfected this machine, by means of a great cable fasten'd at one end to a piece of wood, from which the grapple depended, and at the other to the windlass or capstan, which began to play as soon

soon as the enemy's vessel was hooked, and pulled it with very great violence, so that it was very easy to board her, and then the valour of the soldiers wholly decided the success, which by that means was determined in favour of Octavius.

After a certain number of Sextus's vessels had been thus boarded, fear and disorder spread through all the rest of the fleet, and gave it up as a prey to the enemy. Twenty-eight vessels were sunk to the bottom, and the rest either burnt, shatter'd against the coast, or taken by the conquerors. Of three hundred of them, there were only seventeen saved, which gained the Streights of Messina; and this great victory cost Octavius no more than the loss of three vessels.

This victory was decisive. Sextus, being entirely deprived of that part of his forces, in which he always placed his chief confidence, thought of nothing but flying; and embarking at Naulochus, he rowed to Messina. His land army, left to the care of a lieutenant, follow'd their fortunes and submitted to Octavius. Sextus had still eight legions on the coast of Lilybæum, under the command of Plennius. These he order'd to come to him, not with a design to support the war, but that they might accompany him in his flight.

For before the battle his plan was all concerted, and he had put up in bales all that was valuable belonging to him, in order to retire to the provinces of the East, where he hoped to find protection from Antony. He had formerly given shelter to Julia, the mother of that Triumvir, and he promised himself an acknowledgment in return. Indeed Antony had

A. R. 7¹⁶. had always shewn himself very gentle, and Aet. C. 5⁶. complying with regard to Sextus, and the jealousy which he must have at the aggrandizement of Octavius, was a motive of hope for Sextus, especially if he could arrive in the East in a condition which render'd him above contempt, and might even be looked upon as an useful ally. But he had not time to wait for the legions of Plennius, being frightened at the almost total revolt of his officers and troops over all Sicily, and seeing himself too briskly pursued by Agrippa, who had already enter'd the Streights, he left Messina with the seventeen vessels, which were saved from the engagement, taking with him his daughter, his friends which remained, and his principal riches. We shall see afterwards what became of him, and how his restless and ungovernable ambition at last occasion'd his death.

Octavius Octavius having driven Sextus out of Sicily, *corruptis 1¹ e* was nevertheless not entirely master of it. *arm. s^r L.* Delivered from one enemy, he found a new one *fidus. and* *dispos. fes* in the person of his colleague. It is true that *item s^r sic* Lepidus had contributed to the victory, by *triumvir.* *fact.* keeping a part of Sextus's forces employed, and consequently he had a good right to pretend to share the fruits of it. But neither of them could agree about the manner of sharing them. Each was willing to have the whole, and between such associates, equal both for avarice and injustice, force was the only way of deciding it.

Lepidus discovered all at once his intentions, by his conduct at the siege of Messina, which immediately followed the victory of Octavius. For Plennius, who arrived too late to depart with Sextus, having shut himself up in that place,

place, was immediately besieged both by sea ^{A. R. 716.} and land. Lepidus on one side, and Agrippa ^{Ant. C. 36.} on the other, deprived him of all resource; so that he was obliged to capitulate. Agrippa was desirous of waiting for the arrival of Octavius, who remained at Naulochus; but Lepidus, of his own authority, treated with Plenius, received into his service the legions he commanded, and having joined them to his own, he gave up Messina to be plunder'd by both.

Octavius came up next morning, fully resolved to make good his right, as being the only true conqueror. Lepidus, who, by the increase of his forces in Sicily, had now about twenty two legions, thought himself in a condition to make head against Octavius, and fortified for himself a camp on a rising ground, at a little distance from Messina. There they expostulated reciprocally with each other, which only served to sour their spirits, and demonstrate the impossibility of an agreement. Lepidus insisted that Sicily ought to belong to him, because he had entered it first, and the greatest number of the towns had been reduced by his arms. He observed besides, which was very true, that even Sicily added to his share, would not make it equal to either of his colleagues. These reasons, as you may easily believe, had no effect upon Octavius, who did not pretend that he had vanquished for Lepidus, and only regarding him as an auxiliary, absolutely refused to allow him any share in the conquest. Their division then became without disguise; the two chiefs prepared to act against each other, and a fresh civil war was expected to break out.

But

A. R. 716. But the inequality was too great between the merit and talents of the two Triumviri, for the balance to remain a moment uncertain. Lepidus was despised, even by those who marched under his colours. His want of capacity, and narrowness of genius, appear'd still more conspicuous, when compared with the ambition, firmness, and courage of his rival. Thus they did not come to blows, Octavius disdaining to employ force against such an adversary. Cunning and artifice, which he so well knew how to manage, ruined his adversary's power all at once.

He was perfectly acquainted with the disposition of Lepidus's army, with regard to their general, and particularly that the legions of Sextus, which made a considerable part of this army, were not satisfied with their situation, while they had no security for what had been granted by the capitulation of Messina, except the word of the weakest of the two Triumviri, without being assured of the consent of the other. Having then sounded their officers by means of emissaries, and found them in the same sentiments as he wished, he took with him a large body of cavalry, advanced towards the camp of Lepidus, and having left without it the greatest part of his escort, he entered, accompanied with a small number of horse, as if he had only pacific intentions, and no other view than that of negotiating an agreement. In traversing the camp, he took all those he met to witness of his good dispositions of peace, and the necessity he was reduced to in spite of himself to make war. This stratagem of his succeeded at once. A great many of them saluted him as

their general, and especially the soldiers who had served under Sextus, ran to him to ask him pardon; but he answered, they had yet done nothing to deserve it. This language they understood very well, and immediately manifested their inclination to go over to him, by bringing away their colours, and striking their tents to follow him.

Lepidus being informed of this motion, came immediately to check it, and, finding his enemy ill attended, made his soldiers draw upon him. Octavius's shield-bearer was killed by his side, and he himself being wounded with an arrow, which his breast-plate rebuffed and hinder'd to penetrate, he * retired as quick as he could to the cavalry, which he had left at the entry of the camp. Some of Lepidus's soldiers, who occupied a small fort, made a jest of his flight, which he immediately revenged by making his men attack it, who never left it till they had carried it by force. This example intimidated the commanders of the other forts which flanked the camp of Lepidus, or at least served them for a pretence, and all of them at that time, or during the night, surrendered to Octavius, some of them at a simple summons, and others after having suffered a slight attack for form sake.

* Velleius says, that Octavius carried off with him the standard of a legion, and made the whole army of Lepidus follow him. This instance of daringness appears to me less in the character of Octavius, than that conduct which Apian attributes to him. I shall therefore confine myself to this last author, whose account is besides more circumstantial.

A. R. 716.
Ant. C. 56. Next day Octavius went out of the lines of battle with his whole army, without doubt knowing very well what would happen; for at his approach, the desertion became general among the troops of Lepidus. At first the old soldiers of Sextus, and afterwards all the rest filed off, and came to range themselves under the colours of the young Triumvir. They were all so determined in their resolution, that Lepidus offering to lay hold of the colours to stop the desertion, and declaring that he would never part with them as long as he lived, a soldier was insolent enough to answer him, *Very well, you will part with them then when you die;* and was going to stab him, if the unfortunate general had not quitted his hold.

The cavalry, which remained last with Lepidus, as if they wanted to excuse their delay by a greater piece of treachery, sent to ask Octavius, if they should bring him his enemy dead or alive. Lepidus was not a rival formidable enough for Octavius to desire his death. He ordered them to spare him; and soon after Lepidus, having laid aside all the ornaments which were no longer agreeable to his fortune, presented himself before him humble and suppliant, and asking him to spare him. Octavius granted him his life, and having despoil'd him of the triumvirship, he banished him to Cerceii in Italy, where he allowed him to pass the remainder of his days in a private and obscure condition. Only he respected the law which rendered the high-priestship perpetual, and he suffered him to enjoy that sacred dignity as long as he lived.

This

This last condition agreed better with Lepidus, than that ^{A. R. 716.} ^{Ant. C. 36.} ^a grandeur to which the fortuitous concourse of circumstances had raised him, without having any of the qualities necessary to support the weight of it. In that station he had only been the jest of his colleagues; and when he was deprived of it, if he did not lose his life at the same time, the contempt of his weakness was alone his security.

Octavius having now no more enemy nor competitor in Sicily, ruled every thing according to his own mind. He still followed his own maxim here, to cut off the heads of the vanquished party, and only to grant pardon to the multitude. The Senators and Roman knights who had fought for Sextus, were all put to death, excepting a very few. The troops he took into his service, and as to the towns and people of the island, they were punished, or rewarded, according as they had deserved well, or ill, of him. He gave himself no trouble in pursuing Sextus, from whom he had nothing to fear, and who besides was got out of his reach, having retired into the territories which were under the obedience of Antony. Nay, perhaps Octavius, who was a profound politician, was not displeased that his colleague should grant a retreat and protection to the antient enemy of all Cæsar's party, which might presently furnish a pretence for a rupture with him. For it is not to be doubted, but from the moment he saw himself left alone

^a Vir omnium vanissimus, *tus.* — Ad dissimilissimam vitæ nec ullâ virtute tam longam sœ fortunam pervenerat Lepidus. *Vell. II. 80.*

A. R. 7¹⁶. with Antony, of all the generals who had
A. E. C. 56. shared the forces and provinces of the Re-
publick, after the death of Cæsar, he prepared
to destroy that only rival, whose ruin must
render him master of the whole empire.

*A mutiny
among the
troops of
Octavius.* But these views were still at a considerable
distance. A present misfortune, and which
even sprung from the greatness of his power,
put him into great disorder, and engaged his
whole attention. Having augmented his forces
with those of Sextus and Lepidus, he saw un-
der his command, formidable armies both of sea
and land forces; forty five legions, twenty-five
thousand horse, different corps of light troops,
to the number of thirty-seven thousand, to-
gether with three hundred vessels of war.
This frightful number of soldiers was assembled
in a small compass, and he could see at one
glimpse of his eye his whole force. A dange-
rous situation for a chief, of whom the soldiers
disdained to receive his orders, when he was
ready to give them out. A fierce army so
very numerous becomes impossible to be dis-
ciplined, and will not stoop to desire by en-
treaties, what they can obtain by terror. This
was precisely the situation of Octavius. The
troops which had render'd him so great ser-
vices mutinied, demanded their discharge, and
the same rewards as those conferred on his
victorious soldiers at Philippi. The insolence
He quaffes
at t. a c. n. of the mutineers was so much the greater, as
they foresaw the war against Antony inevitable,
and were sensible of the need their general
would have of them.

and mix'd
*with in-
dulgence*
*and firm-
ness.* It was neither possible to satisfy them, nor to
subdue them by authority. Octavius try'd to
make them change their minds, either by re-
ferring

ferring them to Antony, whose consent he A. R. 116.
Ant. C. 36. alledged was necessary in an affair of that importance, and which interested in common the soldiers of both Triumviri; or by exciting the seditious to acquire a rich spoil, and a glory pure and free from all stain, by a war against foreigners, the Illyrians and Dalmatians, who, taking advantages of the divisions among the Romans, made inroads upon the empire; or in fine, by proposing to them rewards of honour, crowns of different kinds, and to the Tribunes and Centurions the right of wearing the *Pretexta*, and the rank of Senators in the towns where they were born. But all these fine speeches had no effect; the soldiers never lost sight of the object of their wishes; and a Tribune, named Ofilius, had the boldness to raise his voice, and to say, that crowns and *pretexta* were fit to amuse children, but for soldiers there must be money and pay's to settle them. What he said was applauded, and Octavius, in a passion, saw nothing better to be done than to descend from his Tribunal, and retire from the assembly. Ofilius became the more bold upon this, and as others who follow'd his impressions, taxed their companions, who were more moderate, with indifference for the common cause, he cried out that he had no need of assistance, he alone being sufficient to obtain the execution of such just demands. This insolence of his did not remain unpunished. The seditious Tribune presently vanished, without any person being able to discover what was become of him. This example, which gave every one to understand what he had to fear, render'd the mutineers more circumspect, but not more tractable.

A. R. 716. There was none after this that singly exposed
Aat C. 56. themselves, but all together, or in considerable
bodies, they persisted ~~in~~ in demanding their dis-
charge.

Octavius had not that heroick elevation of sentiment, by which his great uncle was capable with one word to reduce his mutinous legions to their duty. Besides he was but young, and possessed no extraordinary degree of warlike merit, a quality which imposes the most upon troops. He was sensible, however, of the necessity of a firm behaviour, and that at once, if he should shew himself too mild, he must lose his authority for ever. He took therefore a method between the two extremes, agreeable to his character, which was more prudent and artful, than noble and elevated. He granted a discharge to twenty thousand of the oldest soldiers, whom he obliged immediately to depart the island, for fear they should nourish a spirit of sedition among the rest.

Afterward, having assembled the army, which was still very numerous, he protested that he would never take back to his service, were they even to beseech him in the most pressing manner, those who had left him against his will ; and that further, he would not give to all of them the rewards which they flattered themselves with, but only to those who should be judged worthy of them, after a severe examination of their conduct. He then began to praise the fidelity of the troops, which still remained with him ; promised them, that in a little time he would grant them both the re-pose and settlements, which they had merited by their good service ; and in pledge of this promise, the execution of which was at some

distance, he ordered an immediate distribution of * five hundred Denarii a head, in order to which, he imposed upon Sicily a tax of sixteen hundred talents (three hundred thousand pounds). By means of this conduct, mixed with indulgence and firmness, Octavius appeased the mutiny, which might have rendered the victories he had obtained fatal to him.

When all was quieted, he distributed military gifts to the soldiers and officers, who had distinguished themselves by their bravery. There was none more honour'd, or who deserved it better, than Agrippa. He received for a reward, and as a monument of the naval victory which he had so great a share in, a crown of gold, which had for its rays the prows of vessels. A great many authors affirm, that he was the first who had this glorious mark of honour bestowed upon him. But I have already related, from Pliny's authority, that the learned Varro had been honour'd with it before, in the war against the pyrates. However, it is not very surprising that the name of Agrippa should obscure that of Varro, in the glory of arms.

Octavius before he departed from Sicily, established a Pro-prætor to govern the island in his name. He also seized the spoil of Lepidus; and Statilius Taurus went by his orders, with some troops, to take possession for him of Africa, properly so called, and Numidia, both which had belonged to the dispossessed Triumviri. With regard to Antony's vessels,

* Agrippa — — — —

cui, belli insigne superbum,
Tempora navali fulgent rostrata coronâ.

Virg. Æn. VIII.

A. R. 716.
Ant. C. 36.

* *Ten*

poundseight

billings

and four

pence.

A reftal
crown
given by
Octavius
to Agrippa.

A. R. 716. he sent them back faithfully, and even took
 Ant. C. 35. care to replace those which had been lost in the operations of the war. After he had finished those dispositions, he set out, and returned to Italy with all his forces.

The epocha of Octavius's grandeur. This, properly speaking, is the epocha when Octavius's grandeur began to be established on a solid foundation. For till now, his affairs had always been wavering, and he was always surrounded and pushed at by enemies and rivals. But now the whole West submitted to his command, and at the same time the publick esteem and admiration were determined in his favour. They could not refuse those sentiments to such glorious success, especially considering he was so very young. Four wars brought to a happy conclusion, at Modena, Philippi, Perusia, and in Sicily; the total destruction of the Republican party and that of Pompey; the power of Sextus, and that of Lepidus united to his own; and all this executed at the age of twenty-eight: these were powerful motives to inspire a veneration for him, which being once established, increased ever afterwards, and was none of the least foundations of his power.

They gave him the first testimony of it on his return from the expedition into Sicily. The Senate went a great way out of Rome in a body to meet him, each Senator wearing a crown upon his head, as a sign of joy and congratulation. They had before decreed to him the greatest honours, leaving it to himself, either to accept of them all, or to chuse such as should be most agreeable to him. He accepted of the ovation, or little triumph, the establishment of an annual feast in honour of

of his victory, and a gilded statue set up in the Forum, where he is represented in a triumphal habit, the pedestal adorned with prows of vessels, with this inscription : FOR HAVING RESTORED PEACE A LONG TIME DISTURBED BOTH BY SEA AND LAND. He entered Rome Fasti with the modest pomp of the ovation the Capit. day of the ides of November.

These exploits, considered in themselves, certainly deserved the great triumph ; and I can see no reason that should have hindered him to take it, except it was the meanness of the enemies he had vanquished. For it must be observed, that the name of Sextus ought not to appear here. It would have exasperated the Romans, and made them hate him too much, to see him triumph nominally over the son of Pompey. But after Sextus was defeated, almost all those who had followed him were either fugitive slaves, or pyrates, commanded by freedmen. It was then in some measure a war against slaves, for which the glory of a triumph would have been too magnificent, and a victory over which was sufficiently recompenced by an ovation.

Octavius contented himself with it, and added several other instances of moderation and gentleness, by which he discover'd plainly, that he wanted to make amends for the tyrannical proceedings and cruelties, which at first had brought upon him the hatred and detestation of the publick. In the speeches which he made both to the Senate and people, after having testified his acknowledgment for the honours decreed to him, he promised peace and tranquillity in Italy as the fruit of his victory, which, he said, had now put an end

A. R. 7¹⁶
Ant. C. 3⁶.
Suet. Aug. 84. to all civil wars. For he industriously con-
cealed his designs against Antony, which it
was not time yet to discover. He did not
repeat those speeches, but read them; a
method which he observed upon all impor-
tant occasions; and he distributed copies of
them over the city, to make all the citizens
as it were witnesses, and depositaries of the en-
gagements he had contracted, and which he
also fulfilled. He abolished some duties, and
remitted all that was due of the taxes establish-
ed during the war.

The people, who for a long time had suf-
fered the horrors of a civil war, charmed with
beginning to breathe again, and willing to re-
compence him to whom they were obliged for
the agreeableness of their new situation, offered
him the high-priestship, with which Lepidus
was invested. Octavius still supported the
character of moderation, which he bound him-
self to as a law; and refused that office, tho'
very important and illustrious, but of which
the incumbent was not to be deprived of, as
long as he lived. Some went even so far,
as to propose to him the strange expedient of
destroying Lepidus, as an enemy to the pub-
lick; but he rejected this with horror, declar-
ing that he would never open the way to
usurpation by murder.

He further gained the affection of the citizens
by the conduct which he observed with regard
to the great number of slaves which Sextus had
drawn into Sicily, and incorporated with his
troops, by giving them their liberty. Tho'
this liberty had been confirmed by the treaty
of Misenum, Octavius did not think himself
obliged to observe it, with regard to those
wretches,

wretches, to the prejudice of their masters and the good of the Republick, a promise which had been extorted from him by a kind of violence. He sent to the several places where his legions had their winter quarters, letters which were opened all in one day, containing orders to seize all the fugitive slaves. The order was executed without any tumult ; and after the prisoners had been brought to Rome, they were examined in order to be returned to their old masters, and those whose masters could not be found, Octavius caus'd to be executed in the towns from whence they fled.

Another object very worthy of his attention, were the companies of robbers, which had formed themselves under favour of the licence and confusion of the war. They formed, in a manner, small armies, which might be said rather to commit hostilities, than simple robberies, both in Rome, Italy, and Sicily. Sabinus, charged by Octavius with the care of putting a stop to those terrible robberies, destroyed the whole race of those wretches in the space of one year. Peace and safety were again established upon the highways, and in the towns ; and the people were so sensible of it, that they consecrated the author of it amongst their titular gods.

Octavius appear'd then entirely employed in the good of the publick, and wholly possess'd with pacific schemes. He burnt those letters and papers which might be monuments of past divisions, and kept a great many of the citizens in disquietude. He left the annual magistrates to exercise their function, and regulate those affairs which belonged properly to their offices. In fine, he went so far as to make

A. R. 7¹⁶. make people hope, that he would abdicate the
 A. R. C. 3⁶. triumvirship in concert with Antony, as soon
 as he should return from the war against the
 Parthians. This last promise was only a feint,
 but it gave great joy to the nation, which was
 always attached to a Republican government.
 The Senate, in order to engage Octavius to
 keep his word, and give him, as it were, a
 compensation in exchange for the triumvirship,
 offer'd to make him perpetual Tribune as long
 as he lived. By this title, his person would
 be rendered sacred and inviolable; and he
 would acquire the power of hindering any
 thing to be done in the city against his will.
 But he had no mind to renounce the com-
 mand of the army, which constituted all his
 force. Thus he kept himself reserved with
 regard to the proposition of the Senate, neither
 judging it proper to accept the tribuneship,
 which would have disarmed him, nor to join
 it to the triumvirship, for fear of provoking
 Antony's jealousy. Nevertheless it did not
 appear that he had absolutely refused it, but
 put it off till a more convenient time.

In order that Rome might be sensible in
 every respect of the return of better fortune, it
 was likewise in this same year, that Octavius
 began to embellish it with new and lofty build-
 ings. One of the great objects in the whole
 remainder of his life and reign, was to adorn
 the capital of the universe, in a manner worthy
 of the dignity of that title; and in this he
 pushed his magnificence so far, that he boasted

• Urbem—excoluit adeo, lateritiam accepisset. *Suet.*
 ut jure sit gloriatus marmo- *Aug. 29.*
 team se relinquere, quam

he had received a Rome of brick and had left it all of marble. But at the time in which I speak, the first work with which he began the execution of his scheme, was an apartment for himself. He had chose for a situation Vell. II. the mount Palatine, and caused his managers to purchase several houses of private persons, which formed a piece of ground of no great extent. He there built a house of a moderate size, which took its name from the hill, up- 19. & 72. on which it stood, and was called *Palatium*, from whence is derived the word *Palace* in our language. But he would not be reproached with labouring only for himself. Upon occasion of a thunder which had burst on a spot of ground which he had purchased, the divines were consulted, and having answered that, that place was claimed by a God, Octavius built there a temple of the finest marble to Apollo, whom he always honoured as his titulary God. He joined to it a library, which was extremely proper in the temple of the God of arts; and all about he raised portico's for the use and convenience of the publick.

The library of Palatine Apollo, as this was Hor. Sat. called, was not only appointed to contain a collection of books, which did honour to the taste of its master, and was an assistance to men of learning; Octavius made also a kind of academy of it, where there were judges to examine the new works of poetry, and those which truly deserved to be transmitted to posterity, were honourably placed in the library, with a portrait of the author. A very powerful encouragement for the arts, which glory especially nourishes and carries to perfection. Octavius loved them, as great princes have

A. R. 71⁶. always done. He cultivated them himself, and those who distinguished themselves in them, were sure of his protection. Thus it is very well known how much they flourished under his government, which became the epocha and standard of good taste.

There is no need of mentioning, that all these great works were not compleated the same year, whose transactions I am now mentioning, but that they were projected and begun at that time; and it is of some importance to remark the date of them, because they entered into the new system of conduct which Octavius formed to himself, after he saw his power sufficiently established. 'Till that time he was unjust and cruel, which the satisfying his ambition forced him to, but afterwards gentle, moderate, and beneficent, as soon as he had reason to be contented with his fortune.

This character of gentleness appeared farther in the distribution of lands, which he had to make to the veteran soldiers. You may remember what a terrible disorder that affair had occasioned after the battle of Philippi, over all Italy; but now it was executed in a peaceable manner. The funds which were designed for the soldiers, either belonged to the Republick, or were faithfully purchased and paid for, whether they belonged to private persons, or to corporations. Thus, for example, the colony of Capua being very thinly inhabited, possessed in common a great extent of ground, which never belonged to any particular proprietor. Octavius there established his veterans. But in order to satisfy the colony, he gave them in the island of Crete funds of a much larger revenue,

Vell. II.
S. I.
Dio.

revenue, and which brought them in * twelve A. R. 716.
hundred thousand sesterces a year. And fur- Ant. C. 36.
ther he added a great and useful ornament to * 62501.
the town of Capua itself, by making an aque-
duct to supply them with plenty of pure
water.

By making such a wise use of his power and fortune, Octavius confirmed himself in the esteem and affection of the Romans against *gainst the Antony, who, on the contrary, at the same Parthians.* time did every thing possible to make himself the object of their hatred and contempt. This will appear in the account which I am going to give of his expedition against the Parthians, which was unfortunate thro' his fault, and the bad success of which was in itself less shameful, than the cause which had produced it. But I must begin by taking things nearer their source.

§ II.

The violent grief of Orodes for the death of his son Pacorus. He chuses Pbraates for his successor. Pbraates causes his father, brothers, eldest son, and several grandees of the kingdom to be put to death. Antony's passion for Cleopatra is renewed. His unjust and immense liberalities towards her. Antony's preparations for a war. He goes into Armenia, the king of which was his ally. The force of his army. The faults which his passion for Cleopatra makes him commit. He lays siege to Praaspa, the capital of the king of the Medes. The kings of the Medes and Parthians cut in pieces two of his legions. The king of Armenia abandons him. Antony engages in a battle where he puts to flight the Parthians, but causes a very small loss to them.

He

He returns before Praespa, in besieging of which he has very bad success. Deceived by the Partians, who promised peace and safety to him, he prepares to retreat. Being informed of the perfidy of the Partians, instead of marching along the plain, he gains the mountains. Divers combats, where the Partians are repulsed. The temerity of a Roman officer makes the Partians gain a considerable advantage. The admirable conduct of Antony with regard to his soldiers. Their love of him. New battles, where the Romans regain the superiority. Their army is distress'd with famine. A very singular and fatal disease, caused by the use of an unknown herb. A new perfidy of the Partians, from which Antony escapes, by means of intelligence given him from the enemies army. The Romans suffer extreamly from thirst. A river whose waters were very unwholsome. A terrible confusion occasioned by the fury of the Roman soldiers, who plunder their own camp. The last battle against the Partians. The joy of the Romans when they saw themselves again in Armenia. Antony's foolish burry to get back to Cleopatra. A false and ostentatious account sent by Antony to Rome. Honours which are decreed to him. The last adventures and fatal death of Sextus Pompeius. The wars of Octavius in Illyrium. The personal bravery of Octavius. The Salassi subdued by Valerius. The exploits of M. Crassus against the Mysians, and the Bastarnæ. The ædileship of Agrippa. Agrippa and Mæcenas chief friends, confidents, and ministers of Octavius. Statues erected to Livia and Octavia. The Portico of Octavia. The triumphs of Statilius Taurus and Sofus. New patricians.

Patricians. The death of Atticus. Succession of the Consulship from the year 718 to the year 721.

THE death of Pacorus, who was killed in the last battle which Ventidius had gained over the Parthians, threw Orodes, the father of the young prince, into such a violent grief as almost degenerated into madness. During the first six days he would neither see any body, nor take any nourishment. Shut up in a dark place, and keeping an obstinate silence, if he spoke at all, it was only repeating dolefully the name of Pacorus. Frequently he thought he spoke to him, heard him, and saw him by him. But presently returning to himself, and recalling to mind, that Pacorus was no more, he wept for him bitterly.

This violent grief was only appeased to give place to a cruel disquiet, which tormented him upon the subject of the choice of a successor, a title which was left vacant by the death of Pacorus. He had by different wives thirty sons, who all aspired to the throne, and, seconded by their mothers, fatigued by their important solicitations the spirits of the weak old man. In short, after having continued in suspense a long while, Orodes unfortunately, both for himself and the Parthians, determin'd in favour of Phraates, the eldest of them all, but by far the most wicked.

Scarcely did Phraates see himself secured in the succession to the throne, than he was impatient to enjoy it; and finding that his father kept him from it too long, he caused him to be put to death. You may easily judge that he would no more spare the lives of his brothers, *Phraates causes his father, brothers, eldest son, and several of the grandees of the kingdom to be put to death.*

A. R. 7¹⁶. thers, who were an umbrage to him, and some
Ant. C. 5⁶. of which had titles preferable to him, by the nobility of their mothers; whereas Phraates was born of an obscure woman. Even the eldest of his own sons, who happened to be of an age capable of giving him suspicion, was sacrificed to his jealousy.

Plut. Ant. Dio. The grandees of the kingdom, alarmed and irritated at such a barbarity, which extended itself likewise to them, and took off all the heads of the first of the nobility, made dispositions for a revolt, which the Romans might easily have taken the advantage of. But Anthony was at that time in Italy, and Sofius, who commanded for him in Syria, had learned by the example of Ventidius, not to pursue too splendid a glory, which might eclipse that of his general. Thus the Parthian nobility, who were discontented at the government of Phraates, not being supported, saw themselves obliged to fly into different countries. But Monefes, one of the most illustrious and powerful amongst them, went over to Antony.

Anthony's passion for Cleopatra is renewed. The Triumvir had set out from Italy, as we have said, when Octavius prepared to make the last effort against Sextus and Sicily. * It was then that the fatal passion for Cleopatra, which had been repressed and quieted by a return of reflection and wisdom after his marriage with Octavia, awoke in his breast. It had only been asleep, and by no means

* Εὐδεσσα δὲ ή δειπνή συμφο-
ρά χρόνος επελέτη δὲ Κλεοπά-
τρας ἔρως, διεκόπη κατεύνασθαι
τῇ κοιλαιεπελάσθαι τοῖς βελ-
τιόσι λογισμοῖς, οὐδὲ αὐλαμ-
πει τῇ αἰνιδίᾳ, Συρία πλη-
σιάζεταις αὐτῷ τῇ τέλος, οὐσιερ-

φοῖς, ἡ Πλάτων, τὸ δυσπειθεῖς
τῇ αἰρόμενοι ψυχῆς ὑπόζυγοι,
απολαυστίας τὰ καλὰ τῇ συ-
νήρια πάντα, Κατίτερα θέ-
τησιν ἐπιμένει ἀξοντα Κλεο-
πάτρας εἰς Συρίαν. Plut.
Ant.

subdued.

subdued. After a very short interval, during which reason seemed to have got the upper hand ; in short, to make use of the expression of Plato, adopted by Plutarch, that untractable companion of the soul, that rebellious slave, which too frequently, instead of receiving law from its sovereign, abuses and tyrannizes over him, entirely shook off the yoke. Antony, on approaching to Syria, dispatched Fonteius Capito, with orders to bring to him the queen of Egypt.

She arrived ; and, as if he wanted to make *His unjust* a reparation for his past coolness, and efface the remembrance of it by unbounded liberality, he made her immense presents. He added to her kingdom Phenicia, besides Tyre and Sidon, Cœlesyria, that province of Judea which produces balm, and a part of the country of Arabia-felix. All these countries were possessed by different little princes, under the protection of the Romans. Antony made no scruple of defrauding those who enjoyed them, provided he could satisfy the unsatiable avarice of her whom he loved. He even yielded to her the rights which the Republick had over the island of Cyprus, and Cyrene, which were formerly dependant on the crown of Egypt. The Romans were very much shocked at these indecent liberalities, the occasion of which was so shameful ; although Antony endeavoured to put a good colour upon it, saying, that the grandeur of the Roman nation appeared less in what it possessed, than in what it gave away to its allies.

Mean while, he did not forget his great project against the Parthians, from which he promised himself the most glorious success. The

A. R. 7¹⁶
Ant. C. 55. terror of his name and arms had reached as far as Caucasus on the Caspian sea, by the victories which Ventidius his lieutenant had gain'd over the kings of Spain and Albania ; and he expected a great deal from Monefes, a man of considerable importance, both on account of his merit and capacity, as well as of his high rank and birth ; and whose retreat must consequently weaken the Parthians, and procure him the most certain directions for conducting his enterprize. Wherefore he gave this nobleman a most honourable reception ; and as he was proud, and loved pomp and ostentation, he compared Monefes to Themistocles, himself to the great king of Persia, and in order to render the resemblance compleat, he gave to the fugitive Parthian three * towns of Syria for his subsistence, Larissa, Arethusa, and Hierapolis. Nay, he even promised him the throne of Arsacides. But all these fine ideas presently vanished. Phraates, who was sensible how much such a fugitive must have it in his power to hurt him, omitted no means to regain him ; and Monefes, upon the assurance of impunity, and an entire re-establishment in all his goods and rights, returned again to his king, and thus frustrated Antony's expectation. We shall see however, afterwards, this Parthian nobleman doing good service to the Roman army.

Antony, tho' he was piqued at seeing himself abandoned by Monefes, left him at full liberty to retire. One part of his plan was to amuse Phraates by a negotiation, and by hopes

* *Titus Artaxerxes had gi- for his wine, and the third for even three towns to Themisto- his meat. See ancient history. cles, one for his bread, another Book vii. Sect. 2.*

of peace, in order to surprise him by a sudden attack, which would not allow him time to prepare himself. If we may believe Florus, there was even a treaty in form drawn up between Antony and the king of the Parthians, which must convict the Roman general of an inexcusable piece of perfidy. But to confine ourselves to the simple recital of Plutarch and Dio, we cannot excuse him from fraud and artifice. According to these historians, he sent an embassy to Phraates, to demand of him the restitution of the colours taken at the defeat of Crassus, as also those prisoners who remained alive; and without waiting for an answer, having taken leave of Cleopatra, he advanced towards Armenia, where was the general rendezvous of his troops.

He goes into Armenia, the king of which was his ally.

Artabazes, king of Armenia, son of Tigranes, an ally of the Romans, was at that time at war with another Artabazes, king of the Atropatenean * Medes, an ally of Phraates. Antony came then, as it were, to succour the king of Armenia, whilst it may be conjectured (for authors are not sufficiently explicit upon this point) that he avoided acting directly against the Parthians, either to lull them, if possible, into a false security, till having subdued Media, he might be in a condition to

* They distinguished Media from Atropatene, who had pre-
at that time into two, the served it from the Macedo-
great Media, and the Atropa- nian yoke. Atropatene was
tenian. The great Media, elected king in acknowledg-
which had Ecbatana for its ment of his good service, and
capital, made a part of the the succession was continued
empire of the Parthians. The down in his posterity, which
Atropatenean Media was a was still subsisting in the time
province of the old kingdom of of Strabo.
the Medes, and took its name

A. R. 7¹⁶. enter suddenly into the heart of their country ;
 Ant. C. 36. or not to appear openly to violate his faith, by attacking a prince with whom he either made a treaty of peace, or at least was in terms about it. This however, is certain, that his intention was not bounded in defending the king of Armenia, nor in making an invasion on the country of the Medes, but that it was the Parthians whom he wanted to make war against.

The forces of his army. The forces which he had assembled, were sufficient to prove the greatness of his designs. He reviewed them in Armenia, and found them to consist of seventy thousand Roman infantry, ten thousand Spanish and Gaulish horse, to which were added thirty thousand auxillary troops, which were furnish'd to him by the kings his allies.

The faults which his passion for Cleopatra makes him commit. Nevertheless, this powerful army, which spread the alarm as far as Bactria and the Indies, and put all Asia in a violent commotion, was rendered useless by the foolish passion of Antony for Cleopatra. For being desirous of passing the winter with her, he hastened to begin the operations of war too soon, and conducted himself in every thing with precipitation, not behaving like himself, nor master of his reason, but as if he had been enchanted by some delusion, turning incessantly his looks towards Egypt, and more engaged to return speedily, than to vanquish his enemies.

He began then by a very remarkable fault, taking the field all at once, though the season was far advanced, and his troops, after a march of above three hundred leagues, had great need of rest. He was advised to give them time to recover from their fatigue, and even to pass the winter in Armenia, to be in a condition to attack Media the beginning of the next spring, before

fore the army of the Parthians could be assembled. But he could not suffer that delay ; he wanted to march immediately, and entering into Atropatena, which was the kingdom of Artabazes, he plundered it, and there began his hostilities.

The second fault, which was owing to the same principle, was, that finding his march retarded by the machines of war, which followed the army in three hundred waggons, he left them by the way under the guard of two legions, commanded by Oppius Statianus ; and as to himself, he advanced with all speed, and laid siege to Praaspa, the capital of Atropatenian Media, imagining he should make an easy conquest of that place, and of the whole country, because the king was absent, and engaged with Phraates elsewhere. But the town was strong and well fortified ; and from the first operations of the siege, Antony had reason to be sensible, how much he was in the wrong, for not carrying with him his warlike machines ; especially a battering ram of fourscore feet long, which would have been of great use to them. For that whole country produced very bad wood, which had neither strength nor height, and consequently could not be employed for the construction of machines, such as the necessity of the service required. Antony then was obliged to throw up terrasses, in order to raise the besiegers as high as the walls, which was a work both long and very laborious.

As soon as the kings of the Medes and Parthians had advice of the siege of Praaspa, they approached towards Antony. But being in little pain for a town so well defended, and so ill

A. R. 7¹⁶. attacked, instead of marching straight to that
 Ant. C. 3⁶. general, they altered their rout, and surprised
 Statianus. The troops which that officer com-
 manded, were cut in pieces, and there remained
 ten thousand dead upon the spot. Statianus
 himself was also killed, and all the machines
 taken and burnt. Polemon, king of Pontus,
 escaped alone from the slaughter, the Parthians
 having spared him, in hopes of extorting a large
 ransom from him, as they actually did. So con-
 siderable a loss, at the beginning of a great and
 important enterprise, shagrined Antony very
 much; and very soon after, the Armenian
The king Artabazes gave him new cause of trouble
of Armenia and disquiet, by leaving him, and retiring
abandons into his kingdom with his troops, which a-
 mounted to sixteen thousand horse, and seven
 thousand foot. The perfidy of that prince was
 still more provoking to him, as it was accom-
 panied with ingratitude, because it was to de-
 fend him, and revenge his cause, that the Ro-
 mans had come into that country.

Antony en- Mean while, the victorious Parthians ad-
gages in a vanced towards Praespa, and taking the first
battle, advantage as a certain omen of success for the
where he future, already threatened insolently the Ro-
puts to man army; but however, without putting
fight the themselves within reach of the infantry, which
Parthians, they greatly feared. Antony apprehended, that
but causes if he suffered patiently these insults, and left
a very his troops in inaction, which would appear to
small loss be no better than an acknowledgment of weak-
to them. ness, his men would be discouraged. He re-
 solved therefore to endeavour to bring on a
 battle; and with this view he went out of his
 lines with ten legions, three Praetorian Cohorts,
 and all his cavalry, as for a general forage,
hoping

hoping that the enemy would follow him, and give him an opportunity of engaging with them.

A. R. 716.
Ant. C. 36.

In short, after one day's march, he discovered the Parthian army, which was ranged in form of a crescent near the road where he was to pass. He then display'd in his camp the signal of battle, which was, as we have observed elsewhere, a purple coat of arms spread over the general's tent. But in order to deceive the Parthians, and make them continue in their post, he caused the tents to be struck, as if he had designed to continue his march, and not to engage. He set out then in sight of the enemy, having given orders to his cavalry, to fall back immediately, as soon as they should be within reach of being attacked by the legions. It was a sight worthy of admiration for the Parthians to behold the Roman army defiling towards them. As they neither observed, nor were acquainted with any kind of discipline, they beheld with surprize this whole multitude advancing towards them in the most beautiful order, separated by equal intervals, and the soldiers marching without noise or tumult, brandishing their demi-pikes which they had in their hands.

Immediately the signal was given, and the Roman cavalry wheeling about, rushed in upon the Barbarians, who did not expect them, with loud cries. Nevertheless, they sustained this shock, tho' they had not room to make use of their arrows. But when the infantry approached, accompanying their cries with the noise of the spears striking upon their bucklers, the Parthian cavalry took fright, and the riders themselves fled before they could engage. An-

A. R. 7¹⁶. Aet. C. 3⁶. tony pursued them very keenly, imagining he had obtained a decisive victory. But after his infantry had pursued them as far as two leagues beyond the field of battle, and the cavalry six, upon examining the enemy that were killed or taken, they found only fourscore dead and fifty taken prisoners. Upon this their joy was greatly mortified, and the Romans felt very sensibly a war, in which, when they were victorious, they caused so little loss to the enemy, and when they were defeated, suffered as much as those who were routed under Statianus.

He returns before Praaspa, in besieging of which he has very bad success. Next day, Antony, having prepared himself to return before Praaspa, the Parthians appeared again, at first in a small body, afterwards their number increased, and at last their whole army being assembled, as fresh and as full of vigour and boldness as they were the preceding day, harassed and fatigued Antony's troops, by brisk and frequent repeated attacks; and it was with a great deal of trouble and danger that the Romans regained their camp.

Very soon after, the besieged made a successful sally, and the troops which were opposed to them, shamefully took flight. Antony irritated at this bad success, decimated the guilty Cohorts, and caused barley, instead of wheat, to be distributed to those soldiers whose good fortune had exempted them from punishment.

Deceived by the Parthians, who prepare to attack him. This situation of the Romans was exceeding troublesome, and they saw themselves threatened with still more terrible consequences. For they could go no more to forage, nor get any provisions without fighting for them, and they had always a great many killed and wounded. Thus to the fear of the enemy, was added that of famine.

mine. Phraates, on his part, was hot with- A. R. 716.
out disquiet; for the first colds of autumn be- Ant. E. 36.
gan already to be felt, and he knew that the Parthians were neither accustomed nor inclined to keep the field in winter; so that if the Romans should persevere, he suspected he might be abandoned by his troops, and oblig'd to retire. To avoid which inconvenience, he had recourse to artifice; and endeavoured to deceive Antony by false appearances of friendship.

In consequence of this new project, and conformable to his orders, the Chiefs of the Parthians, instead of acting with their accustomed vivacity against the Romans in their forages, and upon other occasions, when they came within reach of them, put on a more gentle behaviour, retreating designedly to allow them to get provisions, praising their surprising valour wherever they met them, and assuring them of the esteem and admiration of Phraates. They came at last to have familiar conversations with them, in which they blamed Antony very much, for not taking the advantage of the friendship of the king of the Parthians, who wished to have peace, and had no inclination to destroy such a number of brave warriors. “Your general, said they, obstinately waits here for two of the most formidable enemies of mankind, famine and winter, which are sufficient to destroy him, and from which it will be very difficult for him to escape, even with our assistance.”

These expressions being reported to Antony, made an impression upon him, and the hope of retreating safe, diminished the firmness of his resolution to continue the siege. In the mean time he would not hazard taking such a step,
nor

A. R. 71⁶. nor offer terms of peace to the enemy, till he
Ant. C. 3⁶. had first caused those who brought this account to be examined, to know whether they were authorized by Phraates in what they said. They answered, that they had only expressed the true sentiments of their prince, and that Antony might safely depend upon the truth of it.

This answer determined the Roman General to negotiate with Phraates, and accordingly he sent to him some of his friends. Only, in order to save his honour in some measure, and not to appear as if he thought himself very happy in being at liberty to retreat, he charged still to demand the restitution of the Roman standards and prisoners, which had remained in the power of the Parthians ever since the defeat of Crassus. The king received his deputation in a haughty manner, being seated on a throne of gold, and holding in his hand a bow, the string of which he pulled. So haughty a reception presaged a disdainful answer; and he rejected as impertinent the proposition for restoring the prisoners and colours, bursting out into bitter reproaches against the Romans; but promised them however peace and security, if they chose to retire. Antony was obliged to be content with what was granted him, by an enemy who was in a condition of prescribing laws to him; and he ordered his men to make all the necessary preparations for their departure.

It was customary on such occasions for generals to harangue their army, which Antony was very capable of. He knew very well how to acquitted himself in a publick speech, and especially he seemed to be form'd to please the soldiers by a kind of military eloquence, which was

was agreeable to their taste, and inspired them ^{A. R. 716.} with such sentiments as he wished to raise in ^{Ant. C. 36.} them. But upon this melancholy occasion, the shame and confusion he was in stopped his mouth, and he deputed Domitius Ahenobarbus to harangue the troops in his room. Some were affronted at this, and thought themselves neglected, but others, and by far the greatest number, knew perfectly well the motive of this forced silence. They were heartily sorry for it, and it was a motive for them to sympathize with their general, and obey him the more assiduously.

Antony prepar'd to return the same way he *Being in-*
came, through a plain open country. But formed of
happily for him and his army, there arrived in the trea-
*his camp one of the old * Roman prisoners, in chery of the*
whom the love of his country had only been Parthians,
increased, by a long and melancholy confine- instead of
marched among Barbarians. He caused them to along the
carry him to Antony, and advised him to turn plain, be
to the right on the side of the mountains, and gains the
not expose his legions, who were heavy armed,
in vast plains, quite naked, and without any
shelter, to fifty thousand cavalry, and a shower
of innumerable arrows. He discovered to him

* *Vellius and Florus call* *ple of Italy; and thus Plutarch*
him expressly one of the Roman *would agree with the Roman*
prisoners. We read in Plu- *historians. But if he had be-*
tarch, that this guide, to whom *lieved that this man was one*
Antony owed the safety of his *who had escaped from the de-*
army, was a Mardian by birth, *feat of Crassus, I am perjuad-*
and consequently a stranger with *ed he would have mentioned*
regard to the Romans, being *that circumstance in express*
born in upper Asia. Some *terms. I therefore imagine,*
learned men believe that there *that there is no room to make*
is an error in Plutarch's text, *any alteration in his text; but*
and that instead of Mardi, it *I have prefer'd the authority*
ought to be read Marisi, a peo- *of the Latin authors.*

the

A. R. 716. the secret intentions of Phraates, who had no
Ant. C. 36. other view than that of making him fall into his snare, in amusing him by deceitful promises. In short, he offered to serve him as a guide, and to conduct him by a shorter way, where he would find more provisions for the subsistence of his troops. Antony struck with this discovery, was nevertheless scrupulous in distrusting the Parthians, with whom he had just concluded a treaty. However, the double advantage of a rout which would shorten the march, and where his army would be better provided, decided in favour of the advice proposed by the prisoner, who having desired he might be fettered as a proof of his fidelity, was accepted as guide, and charged with directing the rout of the army.

*Diuers
combats
where the
Parthians
are reput-
ed.*

The two first days passed very quietly. But the third day, when Antony dreamt no more of the Parthians, and already quite secure, marched in irregular order, the guide observed a great breach newly made, and a dike which confined the waters of a river, in consequence of which the road was overflowed. He gave them notice from this, that the enemy was not far off; and in short, Antony had scarce time to draw his legions up in order before the Parthians appeared, and attempted to inclose his army by wheeling round about them. Antony had left between the ranks room for the slingers and archers, who, at the approach of the enemy, immediately advanced. The combat was very hot, and the Parthians were no less hurt by the balls of lead, and arrows, which the Romans discharged upon them, than the light troops of the Romans were by the arrows of the Parthians. They retreated, and returned again to the

the charge. But the Gaulish cavalry having engaged, dispersed them intirely, and they appeared no more that day. The success of that first combat, put Antony upon the method of resisting the attacks of the Parthians. Having ranged his army into a large square, he placed his light-armed troops, not only in the rear, but also in the front and flanks; and the cavalry had orders, after they had broken the enemy to stop, and not pursue them too far.

By this disposition, and prosecuting this plan, the Romans easily suffered the redoubled efforts of the Parthians for four days successively; and the want of success abating the ardour of the Barbarians, they already thought of returning, and laid hold of the winter as a pretence for it. But the rashness of a Roman officer, which procured them a considerable advantage, at the same time restor'd their courage and perseverance.

This officer, who was call'd *Fabius Gallus*, *The temerity of a Roman officer makes the Parthians gain a considerable advantage.* did not want bravery, and undertaking to beat the Parthians, so as to hinder their appearing for the future, he demanded of Antony a detachment of light troops and cavalry. With this body, which he obtained, he did not content himself with only repelling the enemy, but he even was so rash as to attack and pursue them. It was in the rear of the Roman army that this action happened, and as soon as those who commanded there saw Gallus at a distance from them, alarmed at their danger, they sent orders for him to return immediately. But he did not think proper to obey these orders. In vain the *Questor Titius* reproached him very warmly, accusing him of being the occasion

A. R. 716. occasion of losing so many brave men, and
 Ant. C. 36. even laid hold of the colours to make him return. But nothing could get the better of the obstinacy of Gallus. He pushed always forward without taking care of his rear, till all at once he saw himself intirely surrounded.

He then demanded assistance; but Canidius, whose office this was, and who had the most authority of all Antony's lieutenants, committed a great fault on this occasion. For instead of sending a large body of troops, which might have decided the affair at once, he sent successively several small Platoons, who were defeated one after another; and this put almost the whole army in a pannick. Antony was obliged to come himself with the legions which composed the advanced guard, to stop the Parthians, and secure a retreat for his own men who fled. Thus finished that unfortunate battle, in which they reckoned on the side of the Romans, three thousand kill'd and five thousand wounded; and amongst the latter was Gallus himself, who was wounded with four arrows, and died soon after.

The admirable conduct of Antony, with regard to his soldiers. Their love for him. Antony behaved admirably in these melancholy encounters. He went thro' all the tents to visit the wounded, sharing in their disasters, and condoling their hard fortune, even so far as to shed tears; and the soldiers shewed themselves in their turn, extremely sensible of the affection of their general. They comforted him, took him by the hand, loaded him with terms of respect and attachment, and prayed him to turn his cares towards himself, protesting to him, that, provided he was kept safe, they should look upon themselves as happy and victorious.

Such

Such were the sentiments of his whole army, ^{A. R. 716.} which, whether one considers the number, or ^{Ant. C. 36.} courage of the soldiers, or their patience in fatigues, or in short, the persons of the men, and the vigour of the whole corps, was the finest that had been assembled at the time of which we are now writing; and which further may be compared to all that the ancient Roman manners present as the most perfect, both for respect towards their general, and exactness of obedience, which proceeded from the heart, and from the unanimous disposition which they all had, both great and small, officers and private soldiers, to prefer the esteem and good graces of Antony, to their safety, and even their lives.

He deserved, on many accounts, this lively and tender attachment, and all good qualities concurred to make him adored by his troops. First, his noble descent, then his eloquence, but especially the frankness and candour of his proceedings, a magnificent liberality, popular manners, and a familiar gait, which extended to their diversions. And, on the present occasion, his sympathizing with their sufferings, and his attention to prevent their wants and desires, made the sick and wounded still more zealous for his service, than those who enjoyed their health and vigour.

The Parthians were ignorant of this disposition of the Romans; and looking upon them as vanquished and totally discouraged, they passed the night, contrary to their custom, hard by the enemy's camp, reckoning to find it very soon empty, and to have no more trouble but to plunder it quietly. Phraates, their king, who kept always at some distance

A. R. 716. from the body of the army, thought also that
A. R. C. 36. the victory was compleat, and sent his guard
to take a share of the spoil.

Antony prepared himself to receive their attack firmly, and thought it was proper to harangue his army in the present conjuncture. He intended to harangue them in a mourning robe, in order to excite their commiseration the more. But his friends having represented to him, that the superstitious soldiers might draw a bad omen from it, he cloathed himself according to his custom in a purple robe, and in the speech which he made, mixed praises with reproaches, blaming those who had fled, and commanding those who had done their duty well, and renewed the combat. They all assured him of their zeal and affection. The faulty even offered themselves voluntarily to his revenge, either to be decimated, if he thought proper, or punished in whatever other manner he pleased. Only they conjured him to cease to be irritated against them, and not be dispirited. Then Antony, raising his eyes to heaven, beseeched the Gods, that if his past prosperities ought to be expiated by some disgrace, their heavenly vengeance might fall on him alone, but that the generosity of his army might be recompenced with safety and victory.

The Romans having begun their march, very well guarded and prepared in case of an attack, had so much the less trouble in repulsing the Parthians, as those came with an opinion, that they had less business to fight than to take possession of a prey, which was sure and defenceless. Thus seeing themselves, contrary to expectation, born down with a

shower

shower of arrows, and meeting with a vigorous ^{A. R. 716:} ^{Ant. C. 36.} resistance from an enemy whom they thought defeated and dismay'd, surprise as well as fear made them retire precipitately ; but, in the mean while, without renouncing their hope and intention of fatiguing the Roman army, and destroying it if they could.

They soon imagined that they had found an opportunity, at the descent of a hill, where the Romans embarrass'd by a slippery and steep declivity, and harass'd by a numerous cavalry, found it very difficult to advance, and at last took the resolution of forming with their bucklers, what they called a military Tortoise. The meaning of this term is well enough understood. It was usual in the Roman army, when the soldiers were exposed to a multitude of arrows, after having placed in the center all the cavalry and light troops, and ranged themselves in a square battalion, to cover with their bucklers the front and flanks of the battalion ; and all those who were in the middle raised their bucklers over their heads, disposing them after the manner of tiles. Thus defended on all sides, they did not allow the enemy to take advantage of them any where, the arrows glancing upon the bucklers without hurting the soldiers. Those who were in the first line, in order to be entirely covered, kneeled upon one knee : and it was this that deceived the Parthians. They thought it was fatigue and discouragement which depressed the Romans, and, leaving their arrows, they took in their hands long halberts to pierce through this Tortoise. At their approach the Romans cried aloud in a threatening manner, stood up, and smiting them with the javelines which they had in their hands, they

A. R. 7.6. killed the foremost, and put the rest to flight.
 A. Et. L. 36. The same thing happened the following days, and the Romans made but very little progress.

*Their arms
is distress'd
with fa-
mine.* A famine began likewise to distress the army, because they had no grain but what they took by force, and besides they wanted proper instruments to grind it. The beasts of burden which they had, either perished by fatigue, or were employed in carrying the sick and wounded, and consequently their distress became quite deplorable, insomuch that a small measure of wheat was sold for twenty-five Drachma's *, and the barley bread was exchanged for silver, weight for weight. It was absolutely necessary therefore for the soldiers to have recourse to roots and pulse, which were also very hard to come at, and hunger obliged them to try an unknown herb, the use of which was fatal to them, and beginning by disturbing their reason, at last killed them.

*1 cor.
singular
and fatal
disease,
caused by
the use of
an un-
known
herb.* The effect of this herb was extremely surprising. They who eat of it, lost their senses and memory, and the only idea which possessed them, was to turn over and over all the stones which they met with. They gave themselves up to this exercise as to a most serious employment, so that the plain was quite filled with men stooping towards the ground, and digging it, in order to take up the stones, and transport them from one place to another. Wine was the only remedy against this disease, and their stock was quite spent. Thus this strange species of madness terminated in death, which was preceded by a vomiting of pure bile.

Antony seeing them perish under his eyes in great numbers, and constantly pursued by the Parthians, cried out several times, *O re-*

trias

treat of ten thousand! He admired, though at the same time it redoubled his grief, the fate of the Greek troops led back by Xenophon, who having a much larger country to pass over, and more numerous enemies to engage, nevertheless returned happy and triumphant.

Meanwhile the Parthians not being able to break in upon the Roman army, or disorder their ranks, always repulsed, always defeated, and obliged to fly, had recourse again to artifice, to which the genius of that nation carried them, and which had been at first on the point of succeeding. They sought therefore for opportunities of getting near the Romans, when these went to gather provisions in the country, and shewing their bows unbent, they entered into conversation with them, and told them that they thought themselves sufficiently revenged, and were making preparations to return to their country; that only some of the troops of Media were to keep within sight of them for two or three days longer, not in order to molest them, but to defend the villages which were upon that rout. They accompanied these speeches with all sorts of caresses and testimonies of friendship, so that the Romans began to give credit to them, and conceive better hopes. Antony himself was staggered at it, and of the two roads which he might chuse, one by the mountains, which they said wanted water, and the other by the plain, he had almost determined for the latter. It is indeed surprising, that he should have been so little upon his guard against the perfidy of the Parthians. But a salutary advice, which also came to him from the enemy's army, corrected his error.

A. R. 716.
t. C. 56. A friend of Monefes, that illustrious fugitive, to whom Antony had made a present of three towns, came to the Roman camp, and demanded that they would allow him to speak with one who knew the language of the Parthians, or the Syrians. Alexander of Antioch, in whom Antony placed a great deal of confidence, having presented himself, Mithridates, which was the name of this friend of Monefes, told him, that Monefes, willing to testify by an effectual piece of service his gratitude to the Roman general, had sent him to them. He then pointed with his finger to a chain of mountains, and said to him : “ Behind those mountains the whole Parthian army is posted in ambush. They hope, that being deluded by their discourse, you will march over the plain, commanded by those heights which conceal them ; but take care not to do it. If you continue by the way of the mountains, you have nothing to fear but those evils to which you have been long accustomed, fatigue and thirst. But if Antony ventures to march by the plain, let him take care that he does not meet with the catastrophe of Crassus.”

Antony, who thought before that he was free from all danger, was troubled to see himself thrown afresh into fear and embarrassments. He assembled his council, and ordered the guide to attend, who himself was already afraid of the plain, because it was a vast desert, which had no certain road, and where they might easily wander ; whereas by the mountains they had no other inconveniency than that of wanting water for the space of a day. It was therefore determined to take this

last

last rout, and the soldiers had orders to lay in a stock of water. As they were destitute of vessels, some made use of their helmets to carry water with them, and others filled bottles with it, and they set out upon their march the beginning of the night.

The Parthians were soon informed of the departure of the Roman army, and they made haste to pursue them, even in the night-time, contrary to their custom. At break of day they came up with them, and falling upon their rear, they threw the harass'd troops, which had made a forced march of ten leagues, and still suffered greatly from thirst, into some disorder. But presently the Romans recovered their courage; and tho' they were surprised to see themselves briskly attacked, by enemies which they thought they had left far behind them, they stood their ground and fought vigorously, still advancing slowly in their march.

While the Parthians were still harassing the rear of the Roman army, the front approached to a river, which to the thirsty soldiers appear'd to be a blessing sent down from heaven. They ran hastily to it in spite of the remonstrances of their guide, who informed them, that the quality of the waters was bad and unwholesome, to which they gave no credit, till they were convinced by experience, that the information he gave them was too true. The waters were salt and loaded with acids, which caused to those who drank of them violent cholicks, and instead of quenching their thirst, increased it greatly. What they suffered gave weight to Antony's exhortation, who going amongst the ranks, encouraged the soldiers

A. R. 7¹⁶ still to have patience for a little while, till they
 Ant. C. 36. should come to another river which was not far
 off, and the waters of which they might drink
 without fear or danger ; and he added, that
 beyond that river, the country was imprac-
 ticable for the Parthian cavalry, so that they
 would be delivered from the pursuit of their
 enemies. At the same time he called back
 those who were fighting, and caused the re-
 treat to be sounded, being willing to encamp
 in the place where they were, that at least the
 soldiers might refresh themselves under the
 shelter of their tents.

The Parthians, who never attacked the Ro-
 mans but during their march, having retreated
 as usual, the same Mithridates, who had given
 them such good advice before, came again in-
 to Antony's camp, and, demanding to speak
 once more with Alexander of Antioch, he ad-
 vised him to tell the Romans, after they had
 taken a short repose, to make haste to decamp,
 and march to the river, because the Parthians
 were resolved to pursue them so far, but not
 to pass it. Antony rewarded the service
 which Mithridates had done him, with a great
 number of vessels of gold, as many of which
 as he could, he concealed under his clothes,
 and departed.

A terrible The Romans made a right use of the infor-
confusion mation, which the Parthian had given them,
excuse and after a short halt, began their march again,
by the fury before it was dark. They were not pursued,
of the Ro- nor in the least alarmed by the enemy. But
man /s/ the following night was the most cruel of all,
diuers, who occasion'd entirely by their own indiscretion.
plunder A rage for plundering seized them all of a sud-
their own den, for which no other cause could possibly
cause be

be assigned, but the natural avarice of the soldiers emboldened by the favour of the night. They fell then upon those who had gold and money, and killed them, to enrich themselves with their spoils. They did not even spare the baggage of their General, and broke to pieces the magnificent equipage to share it among themselves. The confusion was frightful ; they did not know one another, and as they were ignorant of the cause of the tumult, they attributed it to an attack of the enemy. Antony in despair, saw no resource left but in a violent death, and having called one of his guards, named Rhamnus, who had been a gladiator, he made him promise with an oath to stab him when he should desire it, and afterwards cut off his head, that he might neither be taken alive by the Parthians, nor known after his death.

His friends could not refrain from tears ; but the guide comforted him, by telling him, that they were coming near the river, for he felt in the air a refreshing moisture, which denoted water to be near them, and rendered respiration more easy and agreeable. That besides, the calculation of the time they had been on the march, corresponded with those signs ; for the night was just at a close. At the same time some officers, who had taken care to enquire into the cause of the tumult, informed him that the enemy had no hand in it, and that it was only the effect of the unbridled avarice of his own troops. Thus to re-establish peace and order among the soldiers, he commanded them to halt, and every one to range himself under his proper colours.

A. R. 716.
Ant. C. 36.

A. R. 7¹⁶. Day-light began already to appear, and with
 Ant. C. 3⁶. it the Parthian army. But the army of the
^{To e left}
^{battle a-}
^{gainst the}
^{Parthians.} Romans had recover'd from its confusion, and the light troops advanced in good order to beat back the enemy. At the same time the legionary soldiers formed the tortoise, which I have already described ; and secure under this shelter they always proceeded, tho' slowly, towards the end of their march, without being harassed by the Parthians, who durst not approach them.

At last they discovered the river which was so much longed for ; and Antony having placed his cavalry on the banks of it, facing the enemy, transported his sick first. Presently the whole troops saw themselves in full tranquillity, and at liberty to quench their thirst, in wholesome running water. For as soon as the Parthians perceived the river, they ceased to shoot at them, and slackened their bows ; and one of them raising his voice, cried to them aloud, ² “ Farewel, Romans, retreat without fear. 'Tis with very good reason that fame has published your glory, and nations acknowledge you their conquerors ; seeing you have escaped the arrows of the Parthians.”

As soon as the Romans reach'd the other side of the river, their first care was to relax themselves a little, after so many fatigues. They then began again their march, and the sixth day after the last battle, they arrive at Araxes, which separates Atropatenian Media

* *Ite & bene valete, Romanis. Merito vos victores gentium fama loquitur,* qui Parthorum tela fugiatis. *Flor. IV. 10.*

from Armenia. This march was performed ^{A. R. 716.} without any danger, but not without disquiet. ^{Ant. C. 36.} They were always suspicious of the Parthians, and upon approaching to Ataxes, a report was spread, that the Parthians were again appearing. But it was a false alarm ; and the Romans had no other difficulty to overcome, than that of the river itself, which was large and rapid.

It cannot be express'd with what satisfaction *The joy of the Romans when they saw themselves again in Armenia.* the soldiers again saw Armenia. They were in the same transports, as people who arrive on shoar, after a long and dangerous voyage. They kissed that beloved ground, and embraced one another with tears of joy. The great plenty of every thing, which succeeded their late want and famine, became hurtful to many of them ; for having no command of themselves in eating and drinking, they fell into dropsies, and other obstinate diseases.

Antony reviewed his troops, and found that he had lost twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, more than one half of which had perished by diseases, and not by the enemy. We must add to this considerable loss, that of almost all the baggage of the army. His march from Praaspa, to the river near which he fought for the last time with the Parthians, was twenty-one days. During which they ^{Liv. Epist.} marched one hundred leagues, and fought ^{CXXX.} eighteen battles, always coming off victorious ; ^{Plut.} but his victories had no decisive effect, because he could not pursue the enemy far, nor hinder them from rallying again at some distance. From hence we may observe, what a loss the perfidy of the king of Armenia was to Antony, who deserted him at the beginning of the siege of Praaspa. For that prince having a flourishing

ing

A. R. 7¹⁶. ing cavalry, amounting to sixteen thousand, armed almost in the manner of the Parthians, and accustomed to fight the same way, their assistance would have secured a complete victory to the Romans. For the legions putting to flight the Parthians, and the Armenian cavalry pursuing and killing them, they could not have rallied so soon, nor return'd so frequently to the charge.

The whole Roman army breathed nothing but vengeance against Artabazes, and they wanted to do themselves justice immediately. Antony, not less irritated, but more master of his resentment, did not think it advisable to attack a king upon his throne, and in his own country, with troops quite spent with miseries and fatigues. He therefore made use of dissimulation, and far from shewing any displeasure at the king of Armenia, he continued to testify a great deal of confidence in him, and even went so far as to receive money and provisions of him; putting off his revenge to another time.

In order to execute this revenge, Antony could never have fallen upon a better method, than by taking up his winter quarters in Armenia; which besides would have enabled him to renew the war against the Parthians, at the opening of the next campaign, and to take satisfaction, which he had extremely at heart, for the affront which he had received of him. But his blind passion for Cleopatra, made him forget all other considerations. His mind was fill'd with nothing but the hopes of seeing her again; and, in spite of the rigour of the season, he chose to return with his army into Syria, and marched his men over snows and ice, which

which destroy'd to the number of eight thousand more. The slowness of a laborious march irritated his patience, and as soon as it was possible, he went on before, accompanied with a very few of his troops, and came to the sea, at a place called the White Village, between Berytus and Sidon.

There, waiting for the queen of Egypt, he gave himself up to excesses of eating and drinking, in order to allay his vexation, making merry night and day with his friends. Even this indecent diversion was not sufficient to mitigate his foolish passion; for frequently in the middle of a repast, while they were pressing each other to drink, he would start suddenly from table, and run to the river, to see if he could discover the vessels which were to bring to him Cleopatra.

At last she arrived, and brought with her cloaths and money, which Antony distributed to his troops. Some imagined the money belonged to himself, and that he only wanted to give the queen the honour of it.

Antony had certainly very little reason to *A false* be vain of this expedition. However, he *ostentatious account sent by Antony to Rome.* wrote to Rome of it, in the stile of a conqueror, disguising his losses, and magnifying the little advantages he had gained; for which, he well deserved those reproaches, which the flatterers of Cæsar have thrown upon him, for calling his flight a victory, and representing himself as a conqueror, for having escaped from the

• Hanc Antonius fugam Incredibili mentis vecor-
suam, quia vivus exierat, diâ, serocior aliquanto fa-
victoriam vocabat. *Vell.* *Etus est, quasi vicisset qui*
Il. 82. *evaserat. Flr. IV. 10.*

A. R. 71⁶. hands of the enemy. Octavius was perfectly
Ant. C. 36. well acquainted with the truth of the affair, and had taken care to inform himself sufficiently about it. But being obliged to keep in with Antony, and so much the more as Sextus Pompeius was still alive, he took care not to contradict publickly the vain-glorious relations of his colleague. On the contrary, he order'd the Senate to decree a thanksgiving and sacrifices to the Gods, as for a happy and glorious success.

The disquiet which the life of Sextus Pompeius gave to Octavius, did not last long, for he died the year following, which had for Consuls L. Cornificius, and a man of Sextus's family and name, but of a different branch.

A. R. 71⁷.
Ant. C. 35.

L. CORNIFICIUS.
SEX. POMPEIUS.

Tac. lib. 9. ad. ventures. I have already related in what manner Sextus Pompeius was forced by Octavius to abandon Sicily, after he had possessed it several years, and fly from the port of Messina with seventeen vessels. His chief intention was to gain *App. 2^o. Civ. I. I. V.* Asia; but as no body pursued him, he did not *Dic. I.* hurry himself so much as to forget his profession of a pyrate, and he went to pillage the rich temple of Juno Lacinsa, situated upon the East coast of Bruttium, near Cortona. From thence he passed into Corcyra, then to the island of Cephallenia, and at last he arrived at Mitylene, the capital of the island of Lesbos, the inhabitants of which had a great regard to the memory of his father and his family.

He proposed at first to pass the winter A. R. 717.
Ant. C. 35. peaceably at this place, waiting Antony's return from his expedition against the Parthians, and to go and present himself to him as an unfortunate friend, who implored his protection. But his restless ambition very soon suggested other thoughts to him. Displeased at the treatment of Furnius, who commanded for the Triumvir in Asia; and animated by the hopes which Antony's bad success in the war against the Parthians revived in his breast, he projected nothing less than to substitute himself in his place, or, at least, to share with him the provinces of the East. He saw his troops increase daily, by a great number of his old soldiers and friends, who, destitute of all resource, came flocking about him. He therefore took again the ensigns of command, and the general's military robe; he refitted his vessels, and exercised his rowers, alledging for pretence, sometimes the necessity of guarding himself against Octavius, and sometimes the service of Antony, to whom he was willing to render himself useful. In the mean time, he sent deputies to the kings and little princes of Thrace, and to those of Pontus, to negotiate with them slyly. He even sent them to the Parthians, to whom he hoped his name would be a favourable recommendation; and calling to mind the example of Labienus, who had been so well received by them, and put at the head of their armies, he did not at all doubt but that the friendship of Pompey's son would be still in higher esteem with them. It will naturally be imagined, that he concealed these practices as carefully as possible. While he thus acted industriously against Antony, he

A. R. 717. at the same time promised him a faithful friend-
A. R. C. 35. ship; and the better to impose upon him, he

sent to him some of his friends with orders to offer him his service, and to represent to him their common interest.

Antony was then returned to Alexandria, and upon the first news of Sextus's motions, he had sent Titius with orders to take all the sea and land forces of Syria, and make war against the fugitive general, if he remained still in arms; or, if he consented to lay them down, to make an agreement with him, and conduct him honourably into Egypt. In the mean time the Triumvir listen'd to the deputies of Sextus, whose speeches were very artful, and well adapted to the circumstances of the times.

They put Antony in mind of the advances which their chief, in the height of his prosperity, had made to him, and the confidence which he had always placed in his frankness, candour, and noble courage, to which they opposed the dissimulation, treachery, and artifice of Octavius. They awakened his jealousy against his young colleague, who had taken possession of the spoils of Sextus and Lepidus, without allowing him any share. They made him look upon him as a rival, with whom a war must become inevitable, and that in a short time; because Antony was the only obstacle which retarded his boundless ambition, and hindered him from becoming master of the whole universe. They finished their speeches, by protesting to him, that Sextus desired only to serve him with his person and troops, whose fidelity could never be shaken by his misfortunes. "Thus, said they, if you have

" peace,

“ peace, it will be an honour to you to re- A. R. 717.
 “ ceive the son of the great Pompey, and if Ant. C. 35.
 “ you must go to war, which you may ex-
 “ pect very soon, he will be an useful friend
 “ to you.”

Antony answer'd them by declaring, that the orders he had sent to Titius would soon discover, whether he was really of those sentiments as the deputies represented him.

Thus we see that Antony did not trust greatly to the promises of this disgraced, but always ambitious General; and at that very time, there happened an incident which rendered them still more suspicious; for the officers brought to him those which Sextus had dispatched towards the Parthians, who in the course of their journey had been known and stopt. Antony was so simple, and easily imposed upon, and so far from taking umbrage on a slight occasion, that he even admitted of the excuses of Sextus's agents, who represented to him, that the melancholy situation which their chief was in at that time, and uncertain as he was of the dispositions of Antony, it was not at all surprising, that he should try resources in some measure desperate; but that as soon as he should be acquainted with the Triumvir's good intentions, he would not fail of conforming himself to them. Antony was satisfied with these excuses, and waited for the confirmation of what they had said.

But the consequences were quite contrary to those fine promises. When once a person has tasted of absolute authority, it is very difficult for him to stoop to any other, and the second rank will be disagreeable to him who has been accustomed to the first. Sextus

A. R. 717. pushed the project of continuing himself the
Ant. C. 35. chief of the party as far as he could, and of
raising an independent establishment to himself
in prejudice of Antony. He had even some
slight success before the arrival of Titius.
Furnius, who commanded in Asia, had few
forces on foot; and tho' he had called to his
assistance Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Amyn-
tas, whom Antony had made king of the
Galatians, Sextus had the advantage over all
the three. He surprised their camp, and ren-
der'd himself master of several considerable
towns, as Lampacus, Nicea, and Nicomedia.
This glimpse of good fortune increased his
courage the more, as it greatly augmented
the number of his partizans. The people,
burdened with very heavy taxes, looked upon
him, in a manner, as their deliverer; they con-
tended who should list themselves fastest under
his standards, so that he soon saw himself mas-
ter of three legions, and two hundred horse.
But Titius arriving with a fleet of six score
sail, having on board a great number of land
forces; and at the same time Furnius having
received the seventy vessels which Octavius,
victorious in Sicily, had sent back to Antony,
his fortune changed all on a sudden, and
Sextus seeing no other resource, than to pene-
trate if possible into the higher Asia, burnt
his little squadron, which became useless to him
against forces so vastly superior, and converted
the rowers and sailors into soldiers.

This was a desperate shift. And on this
occasion, that unfortunate chief saw himself
deserted by those illustrious friends who had
remain'd with him, the most conspicuous of
whom in history is Cassius of Parma; and
even

even his father-in-law, Scribonius Libo, went ^{A. R. 717.} _{Ant. C. 35.} to seek for security in the camp of Antony's lieutenants. As for Sextus, he persisted in his resolution of trying every thing, rather than submitting, and determined to march through Bithynia, with a design, as was imagined, to gain Armenia, the king of which, as we have seen, had great reason to distrust Antony. Titius and Furnius united with Amyntas, intercepted his march by fatiguing his troops, falling upon his rear, taking prisoners the foragers, and reducing him to the want of both water and provisions. At last they obliged him to demand an interview, in order to treat of an accommodation.

Titius was suspected by him, and not at all agreeable to him, because having formerly been protected by him in Sicily, and return'd to Rome by means of his favour, and in virtue of the treaty of Misenum, he had nevertheless taken a commission to make war against him. Sextus looked upon him then as an ungrateful and faithless man, and for that reason he would not confer with him, but with Furnius.

Furnius having presented himself, Sextus demanded as the only terms, that he might give himself up to him, with a promise, that he should be safely conducted to Antony. Furnius refused it, alledging, that Titius alone was intrusted with Antony's orders, and that consequently it was to him, that Sextus must deliver himself. But he had an invincible aversion to the person of Titius, and he offered to deliver himself up to Amyntas. This new proposition being rejected by them, he broke off the conference. Next night he fled from his enemy, leaving the fires lighted in his

VOL. XV. A a camp

A. R. 117. camp to conceal his flight. He directed his
 A. R. C. 35. course towards the sea, and had formed the
 desperate resolution of burning Titius's fleet; but a deserter of note, call'd Scaurus, came to inform Antony's lieutenants of the rout which Sextus had taken; and Amyntas detached with fifteen hundred horse, soon overtook the fugitive general, who was without cavalry. At the approach of Amyntas, all those who accompanied Sextus left him, and that unfortunate general, without any hopes or resource, and ready to see himself left quite alone, surrendered without terms to the Galatian prince, who gave him over to Titius. This happened near the town of Mideum in Phrygia. Titius caused his prisoner to be conducted to Miletum, to expect Antony's orders.

It is certain that Sextus was kill'd there soon after, but it is doubtful what share Antony had in the murder. According to some, the Triumvir, in the first heat of his passion, order'd Sextus to be kill'd, but afterwards relenting, he sent a counter-order, which was carried with such expedition that it arrived first. So that the order which condemned Sextus to die, coming to hand last, Titius constru'd it, or at least chose to construe it, as the last resolution of Antony, and put it in execution. Others throw the whole blame upon Plancus, who had the power of dispatching orders in Antony's name, signing them for him, and sealing them with his seal. But the truth discovers itself thro' all those veils; for it can hardly be doubted, but that Antony must be very glad to get rid of Sextus. But as nothing could be more odious, than to kill in cold blood the last son of Pompey, he was very glad

glad to let the blame of it fall upon his lieute- ^{A. R. 717.}
nant. If what some say be true, he did not ^{Ant. C. 35.}
chuse to spare him, because he was made to
apprehend finding a rival in his prisoner,
whose name was formerly so dear to Cleopatra.
In the mean time I can hardly believe that An-
tony would have determined to cause Sextus
to be put to death, if he could only have taken
a resolution suitable to the situation of his affairs.
But ² fugitive, and ruined, his conduct was
wavering between that of a general and a sup-
plicant; for sometimes being obstinate in sup-
porting his rank, and at other times reduced
humbly to ask his life, he seemed to be a
dangerous man, and not at all to be trusted.

Sextus Pompeius died in the fortieth year
of his age, after a life always disquieted, hur-
ried, and expos'd to a thousand dangers. He
owed to the glory of his father, both his
honours and misfortunes. He had more
courage than prudence, and more ambition
than art and good conduct. A chief of rob-
bers, and afterwards of pyrates; rustick and
unpolite in his speech and behaviour, and go-
vern'd by the lowest of men, he furnished
ample subject of reproach to the writers, who
wanted to make their court to the Trium-
viri. There are two things, however, which
will ever render him praise-worthy; his fidelity
in the treaty of Misenum, and the generosity
which he shewed in protecting the proscribed.

Octavius caused great honours to be decreed *Honours de-
creed to*
to Antony, on account of the death of Sextus, *Antony.*

² *Dum inter ducem & vitam precatur, à M. Titio,
supplicem tumultuatur, & jussu M. Antonii, jugulatus
nunc dignitatem retinet, nunc est. Vell. II. 79.*

A. R. 7¹⁷. and celebrated games in the Circus, in testimony of publick rejoicings. He had certainly very good reason to rejoice, to see that house, which was an enemy to his, exterminated. I question, however, if the people were sincere in their joy, for the name of Pompey was still respected and beloved by the Romans ; and Titius, murderer of Sextus, when he returned to Rome, having celebrated games in the theatre of Pompey, was loaded with imprecations, and obliged ignominiously to leave the shew which he had been at the expence of.

By the death of Sextus Pompeius, Cæsar's party, which had been a long time triumphant, subsisted quite alone, and thereremain'd no more for Octavius and Antony to do, after having overcome all their enemies, but to turn their arms against one another, in order to decide which of the two should remain master of the empire. This was the great object which they had always in view, especially Octavius, whose ambition was not diverted by any other passion. There passed, however, some years before it came to an open rupture betwixt them ; and I shall finish this book, by placing here those facts, which were foreign to the great event that concluded the civil wars, that so I may be at more liberty to confine myself entirely to it, without mixing other things to divert the reader's attention.

DETACHED OCCURRENCES.

The wars
of Octa-
vius in
Egypt.

Whilst Antony was divided between his foolish love for Cleopatra, and his chimerical projects against the Parthians, Octavius kept still

still his troops in exercise, by wars more properly adapted to keep up the valour of his soldiers, than to add to the real glory of his arms. He even took a pride, after having always 'till that time employed their force against their fellow citizens, to make a more innocent use of them against strangers, for ^{Appian.} which the nations in Illyrium presented him ^{Illyr. Dio.} with an opportunity. Since the war between Cæsar and Pompey they had never been at rest, and the Japodes had made recent incursions as far as Aquilia, and pillaged Trieste, a Roman colony. He resolved therefore to chastise these restless people, and to bring them back to their duty. But when he prepared to march against them, a sedition stopt him for some time.

The old soldiers who had mutinied in Sicily, as I have already mentioned, complained that they had never yet received the rewards for their services, and they demanded at least an opportunity of meriting them by new labours; and taking up their military profession again under his colours. As their complaints were not without foundation, he gave satisfaction to a number of them, by assigning them settlements in Cisalpine Gaul. But this distinction having only augmented the jealousy of the rest, he made use of severity. He sent some of them to be punished, and disarmed them all; and would not forgive them, till he had reduced them to have recourse to the most humble intreaties. Then, having established the authority of the supreme command, and fearing, lest if he was obstinate in checking them, they would go over to Antony, he admitted them amongst his troops, and accepted their service.

He then departed for the war in Illyrium, and carried his victorious arms successively against the Japodes, the Pannonians, and the Dalmatians. As I do not think that the accounts of this expedition are interesting enough to merit a particular description, I shall only observe, that Octavius behaved himself gallantly on more occasions than one, and refuted, by *The personal bravery of Octavius.* a bravery which is above all censure, those unjust suspicions of cowardice which were thrown upon him by Antony, and the impression of which is not quite obliterated even at this day.

Flor. IV. Thus in a time of surprise, when he was suddenly attacked by the enemy, had the difficulty of the road to overcome besides, and to mount a rough, steep declivity, full of trees and brambles; observing that his troops did not advance briskly, he took a buckler from one of the soldiers, and running to the front ranks, animated them by his example, and repulsed the Barbarians.

In another engagement he received a blow of a stone on his right knee, which hurt him very much, and disabled him from acting for several days.

But he signalized his valour no where more remarkably, than at the siege of Metulum, the capital of the Japodes. The place was naturally strong, and so obstinately defended by the inhabitants, that after the wall was broke down, they built a new one, and formed a second fortification, which obliged Octavius to begin his operations anew. He raised terrasses, and built upon them towers, from which they were to throw over to the walls of the enemy four flying bridges, all at a time.

This

This was executed in a hurry, and three of the bridges broke, so that none of them durst venture themselves upon the fourth. Then Octavius, who examined all that passed from the top of a high tower, came down in great haste, exhorted the discouraged soldiers very warmly, and not being able to rouse their courage by words, he mounted the bridge himself, and advanced towards the wall, holding a buckler before him. Agrippa, two other general officers, and a domestick attended him; and they were presently followed by such a great number of soldiers, that the bridge broke under them, like the three first, and all those who were upon it fell down with great violence. Several of them were killed, and a great many very much bruised, and amongst the rest Octavius, who was wounded in the right leg, and both his arms. However, supporting himself against this troublesome accident by his presence of mind, he immediately mounted again upon the top of the tower, and presented himself both to the view of his own people and of the enemy, in order to prevent the former from being discouraged, and check the insolence of the latter.

After such proofs of valour, he had a good right to demand the same of his troops, and punish cowardice severely. Wherefore a Cohort having behaved ill, and fled before the enemy, he decimated them, and caused to be distributed to those soldiers, whose good fortune had saved them, barley instead of wheat, during the whole campaign.

This war, in which I do not find any person of note to have been kill'd, excepting Menas, that perfidious freedman of Sertorius, employ'd

Octavius during three years, and was not terminated till the year of Rome 719, when the Barbarians submitted, gave hostages, restored the colours which they had formerly taken from Gabinius and Vatinius, and engaged to pay the tribute imposed by the conqueror.

Octavius besides subdued, by means of his lieutenants, other nations, who were either ill subjected, or had never been under the Roman power.

The Salassi At the same time that Octavius made war in *subdued by* Illyrium, * Messala, who was charged by him *Valerius.* to suppress the Salassi, subdued that nation, *Freinshem* which inhabited the country now called the *Val* *CXXXI.*

37, 38. d'Acoste. They had a long time been troublesome to the Roman generals, whose intestine divisions gave them more important business, than that of reducing the Barbarians canton'd in the mountains. But as soon as they had leisure to think of them, they were presently forced to submit, and accept what laws the generals thought proper to impose.

*The ex-
ploits of
M. Crassus
against the
Myrians
and the
Bastarnæ.* The exploits of M. Crassus against the Myrians, the Bastarnæ, and other nations bordering upon the Danube, towards Thrace, happened some † years later than those above mention'd, and in placing them here, I follow

* 'Tis from the authority of Appian and Dio, that I have attributed the victory over the Salassi to Messala. I am, however, in some doubt about it, founded on the silence of Tibullus, who in his Panegyric upon Messala, when he gives a list of the warlike exploits of his hero, does not name the Salassi, among the people sub-

dued by him. Strabo lib. IV. says, that Messala quartered one winter in their neighbourhood. But far from honouring him with any advantage gained over them, he assures us, that he was obliged to purchase wood of them, for fire and military uses.

† Dio makes mention of it under the year of Rome 723.

the

the order which the nature of the facts point out, and not the order of time. It is very well known, how fierce and warlike the nations inhabiting these countries have always been. Crassus opposed to their boldness an uncommon bravery, of which he gave an example, in killing with his own hand in battle, Deldon king of the Bastarnæ.

He merited by this action, the honour of the spoil called *Opimæ*. But whether it was, that his quality of simple lieutenant of Octavius excluded him from it, because they thought that those spoils could not be acquired but by the commander in chief, or that Octavius would not willingly see his subaltern advanced in some measure above him, by an honour which was very singular, and of which the whole Roman History could only furnish three examples, it is certain that Crassus obtained no other rewards, than those which were granted in common to victorious officers, viz. the title of **Imperator*, a *Supplication* and a triumph. He was the son of the famous Crassus, whom we have had occasion to mention more than once.

I pass lightly over those facts which are here obscured by a number of others more remarkable, and shall only make mention of two more, which Florus has furnished us with.

While the Roman army was ranged in order of battle, opposite to that of the Mysians, one of the principal commanders of the Barbarians

* Dio seems to question honour has been granted to the title of *Imperator* being private persons even under given to Crassus. But this Tiberius.

advanced,

advanced, and cried with a loud voice, *Who are you?* He was answered, *We are the Romans, masters of all nations.* Before you can assume this title, replied the audacious Mysian, you must first conquer us.

This boldness seem'd to promise a vigorous resistance. But for all that, a mere bugbear (which is the second fact I promised to mention) disconcerted the Mysians, and made them fly immediately. A Roman sentinel took it into his head, to put upon his helmet a pan of coals lighted, and flaming. He advanced thus towards the enemy, and the motion of his body augmenting the flames as it were by jerks, the credulous Barbarians imagined they had to do with a monster which vomited fire. All their courage could not support them against this object, which was scarce capable of frightening a child.

These were the military exploits of Octavius and his lieutenants, from the defeat of Sextus Pompeius till the death of Antony. The affairs of the city between these two epocha's, furnished also some remarkable events, the most important of which was the edileship of Agrippa.

*The edile-
ship of
Agrippa.*

All the offices had lost their glory and splendour under the triumviral government, which absorbed entirely the publick power; and in particular the edileship, burdened with prodigious expences on account of the games, which they were obliged to exhibit to the people, fell into such discredit, that one * year 716. year passed without any ediles, because no body would have a title without power, and so expensive. Agrippa undertook to recover the dignity of this magistracy by taking it on himself *;

self*; and tho' he had been Consul, he did * *Year of* not disdain a place which was greatly inferior, *Rome 719.* being persuaded that he should lose nothing by it, and the office would gain by it. Besides the office of edile, which either regarded the embellishments and conveniences of the city, or the pleasures of the multitude, was perfectly agreeable to that zeal which Agrippa had to reconcile, more and more, the hearts of the citizens to the young Triumvir, his general and protector.

This he fully effected with great magnificence. First by the publick edifices, which *cxxxii. 51,* he repaired or built anew. He repair'd the *52.* ancient Aqueducts, which were almost fallen to ruin, and conducted a new one, to which he gave the name of *Julius*, for the space of fifteen miles, or five leagues. In order to render commodious, and accessible, the waters which he conducted, or distributed to the city, he made seven hundred water-places, one hundred and five fountains, and one hundred and thirty reservoirs. So that there was scarcely a house in Rome that had not water in abundance; and all those works were adorn'd richly, and with taste. They reckon besides, three hundred statues of Marble or Brass, and four hundred marble columns. Agrippa was so fond of embellishing the town, and all the places destined for publick use, that he wanted to have dedicated to that use all the statues and pictures in Rome. He pronounced a * speech upon this subject, which was still

* Exstat ejus (Agrippæ) quod fieri satius suisset, quam oratio magnifica & maximo in villarum exsilia pelli. civium digna, de tabulis omnibus signisque publicandis :

preserved

preserved in the time of the elder Pliny ; and to which this writer, charmed with so noble a project, gives the epithet of magnificent and truly worthy of the greatest of citizens. And certainly that was a much properer destination for those master pieces of art, than placing them in the gardens of country houses, belonging to private persons.

Every body knows the magnificence of the common sewers in Rome, built by the two Tarquins. These by being neglected were filled with nastiness, and stopped up in several places. Agrippa made so large a collection of water, that it formed, as it were, seven torrents, which being let in by the openings of the sewers, and running with rapidity, carried off all the filth which had there been heaped up ; and after this operation he embarked himself upon the sewers, which had been thus cleansed, and by a subterraneous navigation, went from one end to the other, to their opening into the Tiber.

The second object of Agrippa in his edile-ship, regarded the games and presents be-stowed on the people. It is astonishing with what magnificence he acquitted himself of this part of his office. Shews of all kinds, plays, fighting of gladiators, courses in the Circus for the space of nine and fifty days ; and during all that time, barbers and bath-keepers paid at his expence for the use of the citizens ; an hundred and seventy baths kept open and in order at his expence, during the whole year ; and provisions of all kinds purchas'd from the merchants, to be deliver'd as plunder to the people. In short, in the theatre he threw down a kind of lottery tickets, and those

who brought them to him received the contents ; that is to say, of money, stuffs, moveables and other such things. He likewise adorned the Circus with statues of Dolphins, and what they called eggs ; that is, very large masses shaped in form of an egg, and placed upon the pillars which were situated at the end of the course, and discovering themselves at a distance, directed the charioteers in their career, and marked out the place where they were to turn.

Among the shews given by Agrippa, that of the course, which the Romans call'd *Trojan*, deserves to be remarked. This diversion, as they alledged, came to them from Troy, and consequently, particularly interested Octavius, who boasted his origin from that famous city. It was for this, that Virgil has inserted in his fifth *Æneid*, a charming description of that exercise. It was performed by young persons of quality, and Agrippa engaged the Senators to consent that their children should begin to make themselves known there, to draw upon them the attention of the citizens.

These concerns, which seemed frivolous, and only calculated for pleasure, had nevertheless a serious effect, which was to make the government of Octavius to be beloved ; and Agrippa was no less serviceable to his patron by these amusements, than by the exact policy which he caused to be observed in the city. He banished out of it astrologers and magicians, those publick plagues, which easily impose upon the credulous multitude, and breed uneasiness in the state as well as in families. Thus Agrippa, who was a skilful warrior, shewed himself also a very great magistrate ;

magistrate ; superior by these universal talents to Mæcenas, who, tho' he had some turn to military operations, yet made no great figure, except in the administration of civil affairs.

Agrippa and Mæcenas chief friends, confidents, and ministers of Octavius. *Dio. I. L. I.* These two were the principal instruments of Octavius's grandeur. He had a perfect confidence in them ; and as by way of seal, he made use of two stones engraved, with the representation of a Sphinx on each of them, and exactly alike, he kept one of them, and left the other at their disposal ; so that they might write and order in his name whatever they judged agreeable. When he wrote himself to the Senate, his dispatches were first sent to them. They opened them, read them, and made what alterations they pleased, and afterward sealed them and sent them to the Senate.

It was to Mæcenas chiefly, that the affairs of the city and Italy were particularly intrusted. Tho' by a modesty, I do not know whether real or affected, he never would be advanced above the rank of a simple knight, tho' he could easily have arrived at the highest dignities of the Republick. He had, however, more real power than the principal Senators, and those of consular authority. He was, during several years, Prefect of Rome, and by the authority of this office, which was created on purpose for him, he maintain'd a calm and peace in the capital, and in all Italy in the most boisterous times, and in spite of the discontent of the people, who were frequently loaded by his orders with taxes, which were very heavy, but necessary to support the vast expence of the war.

Every thing that belonged to Octavius shewed the splendour of his fortune. Thus his

his sister and his wife were honoured with *statues* by a decree of the Senate; and with the spoils which were acquired in the war ^{erected to} against the Dalmatians, he caused to be built a *Portico*, to which he gave the name of his *sister Octavia*, and there he afterwards placed *tavia*. ^{Livia and Octavia. The Por-} a very rich library. Some authors, however, ^{Dio.} give the honour of this library to *Octavia* herself, who wanted to consecrate by this monu- ^{I. XLIX. Plut. Marcel.}ment the name of her son *Marcellus*.

During this time there were celebrated several triumphs by particular generals. The most memorable, and most justly deserved, were those of *Statilius Taurus*, and *Sofius*. ^{umps of Statilius Taurus and Sofius.} The one had quieted Africa after the disgrace of *Lepidus*, and the other had conquered the Jews, and taken Jerusalem.

Octavius, according to *Cæsar's* example, *New Patricians*, to replace the antient families of the same rank, who perished in the civil wars, and were daily decreasing.

Though *Atticus* had always lived as a private man, without having ever possess'd any office, yet the rank which his wit, virtue, and the wisdom of his conduct gain'd him in the esteem of the publick, and of the first persons in the Roman empire, make his character, in every respect, worthy of commendation, and his death deserving a place in this History.

He was, as we have already observ'd, a friend to *Antony*; and he had shewn it in the most critical circumstances, in consequence of which, his name was blotted out of the list of those proscribed by the *Triumvir*. *Antony* did still more, for he procured for him an illustrious alliance, and laboured effectually in bringing

bringing about a marriage between Agrippa and his daughter. From this marriage sprung Vipsania Agrippina, who, when scarcely a year old, was promised to Tiberius, son-in-law to Octavius. Thus Atticus saw his family nearly allied to the house of the Cæsars.

Keeping always faithful to this maxim, never to engage in the quarrels of the great, and to cultivate with them particular connections, he preserved to himself the friendship of both Octavius and Antony, who equally gave him the most distinguished and constant testimonies of the greatest esteem and regard.

The year which preceded their rupture, he was attacked with a fistula, for which he tried all the remedies then known, which only exasperated the disease. Being quite weary of suffering, he took up a resolution of starving himself to death, which he discoverd to his son-in-law, whose tears and intreaties had no effect to prevent it. After he had abstained from eating for two days, the fever left him, and he found himself better. But the thing was determin'd on, and he was obstinate in dying. Like a true Epicurean, he looked upon pain as the sovereign evil, and did not think it too much to purchase a deliverance from it, by sacrificing the remains of a languishing life.

He died at the age of seventy seven, under the Consulship of Domitius and Sosius; and was a very singular man, having made a figure without office and superior talents; beloved of all the great, keeping himself always in a middle station, and behaving himself so equally amongst all parties, that he merited the friendship, even of those opposite chiefs, who made the most cruel wars against one another.

There

There remains no more for me to do at present, but to add to the *Succession of the Consulship from the year 718, to the year 721.* remarks, which if placed elsewhere would interrupt the thread of the narration.

At the time of the treaty of Misenum between the Triumviri and Sextus Pompeius, all the Consulships for these years had been disposed of beforehand. It had been said, that in the year of Rome 718, Antony would take upon him the Consulship a second time with Libo, father-in-law of Sextus; that in the year 719, Octavius would be Consul the second time with Sextus himself; in the year 720, Domitius Ahenobarbus and Sosius; and last of all in 721, Antony and Octavius, who being then Consuls for the third time, would re-establish the antient government. This plan of the Consulship was accordingly followed; only Sextus Pompeius, being killed before the year of his Consulship arrived, they substituted in his room L. Volutius Tullus; and likewise Antony was deprived of his third Consulship, on account of the war which broke out between him and Octavius. Messala supplied his place, and was colleague to Octavius when he was Consul for the third time. With regard to the second Consulship appointed to each of the two Triumviri, neither of them chose anything more than the title, and they resigned it the very day they had taken possession of it. The triumviral power was abundantly sufficient for them; and the Consulship, reduced to an empty title, was entirely useless.

I do not talk of the Consuls substituted each year to those who had begun it. We have no exact list of them, and it would be of little

use to have them, with regard to the great events of the History, in which they can hardly be said to have any share.

But I ought not to omit observing here, that the five years of the second Triumvirship of Antony and Octavius expired the last of December, in the year 719, and that nevertheless, at the time of the treaty of Misenum, they had disposed of the Consulship for two years longer; which is a proof that their plan was to continue this tyrannical power, by renewing it as often as they should see occasion, and they were very sure of the suffrages of the people, whom they kept in subjection by the force of arms.

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